

CORPUS
OF
BYZANTINE SEALS
FROM BULGARIA

Volume 1

Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names

edited by

Ivan Jordanov



Agato Publishers

00172

The publishers would like to express their gratitude
to Shoumen County for the financial support

CONTENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| INTRODUCTION | 11 |
| ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS CITED | 13 |
| CRITICAL SIGNS AND GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS | 21 |
| CATALOGUE OF BYZANTINE SEALS WITH GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES | 23 |
| 1. Ἀβύδος | |
| 1.1 Νικήτας β'στράτορ, τουρμάρχης καὶ παραφύλαξ Ἀβύδος (mid. of IX c.) | |
| 1.2 Νικόλαος Ἀβύδος (end of the XI c.) | |
| 2. Ἀγχιάλου | |
| 2.1 Βάρδας πρωτοπαπίας καὶ β'κουράτωρ Ἀγχιάλου (XI c.) | |
| 2.2 Νικηφόρος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου (70s-90s of the XI c.) | |
| 2.3 Στέφανος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου (XII c.) | |
| 3. Ἀδριανούπολεως | |
| 3.1 Χριστοφόρος ὑπάτος καὶ κουμμερκιάριος Ἀδριανουπόλεως (822-823) | |
| 3.2 Θεοδωροκάνος πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως (1000-1006) | |
| 3.3 Θεοφύλακτος ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως (X-XI c.) | |
| 3.4 Νικόλαος μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (70s of the X c.) | |
| 3.5 Γρηγόριος or Πανθεριος μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (XI c.) | |
| 3.6 N., μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (XI c.) | |
| 3.7 N., μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (XI c.) | |
| 3.8 Εὐστάθιος μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (XII th century) | |
| 3A. Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας | |
| 3A.9 Συμεὼν κατεπάνω Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας (70s of the XI c.) | |
| 4. Αἰγαίον πελάγους | |
| 4.1 Φίλιππος β'πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους (X c.) | |
| 5. Αἴνιος | |
| 5.1 Ἀνδρόνικος Αἴνιος (X-XI c.) | |
| 6. Ἀντιοχείας | |
| 6.1 Μιχαὴλ Ἰασίτης μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας (?-1047) | |
| 7. Ἀνατολῆς | |
| 7.1 Ἰωάννης μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως (first half of the XII c.) | |
| 7.2 Ἰωάννης μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς (first half of the XII c.) | |
| 7.3 Ἀδράλεστος δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (X c.) | |
| 8. Ἀνατολικῶν | |
| 8.1 Βαλάντιος β'πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (X c.) | |
| 8.2 Διογένης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (X c.) | |
| 8.3 Λέων Μελισσινός στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (70s-80s of the X c.) | |
| 9. Ἀντωνίου | |
| 9.1 Λαύρας τοῦ κῆρ Ἀντωνίου (XI c.) | |
| 10. Ἀρκαδιούπολεως | |
| 10.1 Λέων βασιλικὸς Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως (third quarter of the XI c.) | |
| 10.2 Κατακαλὼν σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως (XI c.) | |
| 10.3 Ἀντρόνικος ἐκ προσώπου Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας (XI c.) | |
| 10.4 Στέφανος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως (X-XI c.) | |
| 11. Ἀρμενιοὶ | |
| 11.1 Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀνεμᾶς ἐπισκεπτήτης Ἀρμενιοῦ (X-XI c.) | |
| 12. Ἀσίας | |
| 12.1 Ἀποθήκης τῶν ἀνδραπόδων Ἀσίας (694-695) | |
| 12.2 Τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Ἀσίας (755-756 or 770-771) | |
| 13. Ἀχριδός | |
| 13.1 Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀχριδοῦ (XI-XII c.) | |
| 14. Βασπρακανίας | |
| 14.1 Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (?-1064) | |

15. Βαρνας
 - 15.1 Άσωτης άνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καί στρατηγός Βαρνας (?-1064)
16. Βελεβουσδίου
 - 16.1 Ίωάννης επίσκοπος Βελεβουσδίου (second half of the XII c.)
17. Βελικίας
 - 17.1 Ν., πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Βελικίας (?) (last quarter of the X c.)
 - 17.2 Στέφανος επίσκοπος Βελικίας (X-XI c.)
18. Βερόης
 - 18.1 Άνδρόνικος πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Βερόης (970-971-?)
 - 18.2 Χριστοφόρος πρόεδρος Βερόης (XI-XII c.)
19. Βουλγαρίας
 - 19.1 Βασίλειος μοναχός, σύγκελλος καί άναγραφεύς Βουλγαρίας (1048-?)
 - 19.2 Νικήτας Καρίκης πρωτοπρόεδρος καί δούξ Βουλγαρίας (80s of the XI c.)
 - 19.3 Ήσαΐας επίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (864-866)
 - 19.4 Γεώργιος άρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (?-893)
 - 19.5 Ίωάννης μοναχός καί άρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (second half of the XI c.)
 - 19.6 Κωνσταντίνος άρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (1250-1261)
 - 19.7 Γρηγόριος άρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (XIV c.)
20. Βρύσεως
 - 20.1 Νικηφόρος άρχιεπίσκοπος Βρύσεως (X-XI c.)
21. Δαφνί
 - 21.1 Ή Θεοτόκος τὸ Δαφνίν (XI-XII c.)
22. Δεβελτός
 - 22.1 Τὰ βασιλικά κομέρκια Δεβελτός (832-833)
 - 22.2 Κοσμάς κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (30s-40s of the XI c.)
 - 22.3 Χριστοφόρος β' κανδιδάτος καί κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (30s-40s of the IX c.)
 - 22.4 Δαυίδ β' σπαθάριος καί κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (870-893)
 - 22.5 Εὐστράτιος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (X c.)
 - 22.6 Ίωάννης? άσηκρήτης? καί κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (XI c.)
 - 22.7 Βασίλειος? κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (XI c.)
 - 22.8 Κωνσταντίνος Συροπουλος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (X-XI c.)
23. Δοροστόλου / Δρίστρας
 - 23.1 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος στρατηγός Δοροστόλου (971-?)
 - 23.2 Άρκάδιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Δοροστόλου (971-?)
 - 23.3 Βασιλάκης? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Δρίστρας (X-XI c.)
 - 23.4 Θεόδωρος πριμικήριος καί στρατηγός Δρίστρας (X-XI c.)
 - 23.5 Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Δρίστρας (X-XI c.)
 - 23.6 Άνδρόνικος β' σπαθάριος? καί κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (XI c.)
 - 23.7 Διονύσιος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καί κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (XI c.)
 - 23.8 Ίωάννης κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (XI c.)
 - 23.9 Λέοντιος μοναχός καί επίσκοπος Δρίστρας (50s of the XI c.)
 - 23.10 Χριστοφόρος μητροπολίτης Δρίστρας καί πρωτοσύγκελλος (80s of XI c.)
24. Δρουγουβιτείας
 - 24.1 Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας (the 50s-60s of the XI c.)
 - 24.2 Γρηγοράς Σαυλοιωάννης κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας (XI c.)
 - 24.3 Θεόδοτος άσηκρήτης καί κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας (XI c.)
 - 24.4 Ν., καί κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας (XI c.)
 - 24.5 Ίσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Δρουγουβιτείας (X-XI c.)
 - 24.6 Κωνσταντίνος πρωτοσπαθάριος καί άναγραφεύς Δρουγουβιτείας (X-XI c.)
 - 24.7 Λέων Ν., άσηκρήτης καί κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας (X-XI c.)
 - 24.8 Μιχαήλ Σκληρός πρωτοπρόεδρος καί άναγραφεύς Δρουγουβιτείας (XI c.)
 - 24.9. Χριστοφόρος πριμικήριος καί Δρουγουβιτείας (XI c.)
 - 24.10 Θεόδουλος άναγραφεύς Δρουγουβιτείας (mid. of the XI c.)
25. Δυρράχιον

- 25.1 Νικήτας Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος καί στρατηγός Δυρραχίου (1018)
- 25.2 Μιχαήλ Μαύριξ βεστάρχης καί κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου (1065-1068)
- 25.3 Άνδρόνικος τουρμάρχης Άραχιλαβης ογ Δυρραχίου (XI c.)
26. Δύσις
 - 26.1 Πέτρος πατρίκιος καί δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (971-?)
 - 26.2 Ν., πατρίκιος καί δομέστικος τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (X c.)
 - 26.3 Στέφανος άνθύπατος καί δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (17.08.986-?)
 - 26.4 Λέων Μελισσηνός δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (17.08.986-?)
 - 26.5 Λέων Περηνός μάγιστρος καί δούξ πάσης Δύσεως (mid. of the XI c.)
 - 26.6 Άδριανός Κομνηνός μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως (1087-1105)
 - 26.7 Συνέσιος τοποτηρητής τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (XI c.)
 - 26.8 Δραζιμιρ πρωτοσπαθάριος-ύπατος καί άνθρωπος ογ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καί δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (1057-1067)
 - 26.9 Βρυένιος Βατάτζης στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως (mid. of the XI c.)
 - 26.10 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος δομέστικος τῶν ικανάτων καί Δύσεως (975-?)
 - 26.11 Χριστοφόρος χαρτουλάριος τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Δύσεως (X-XI c.)
27. Ἑλλάδος
 - 27.1 Μιχαήλ Δρύμις τοποτηρητής τῶν ἐλαδικῶν, ἐξκουβίτων (XI c.)
28. Εὐξείνιος Πόντος
 - 28.1 Τὰ βασιλικά κομέρκια τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου (783-784)
 - 28.2 Μιχαήλ στρατηγός τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου (mid. of the XI c.)
29. Εὐθυμίου
 - 29.1 Τῆς λαύρας τοῦ άγίου Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μεγάλου (XI-XII c.)
30. Εὐχαΐτα
 - 30.1 Φιλόθεως σύγκελλος καί μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων (70s of the X c.)
31. Ἐώας
 - 31.1 Φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος πρωτοσέβαστος καί δομέστικος Ἐώας (?-1084)
32. Θεοβουλεία
 - 32.1 Ννικόλαος επίσκοπος Θεοβουλεία (second half of the IX c.)
33. Θεοδωρούπολις
 - 33.1 Σισίνιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί κατεπάνω Θεοδωρουπόλεως (971-?)
34. Θεσσαλονίκης
 - 34.1 Κατακαλῶν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θεσσαλονίκης (X c.)
 - 34.2 Δαυίδ Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θεσσαλονίκης (X-XI c.)
 - 34.3 Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θεσσαλονίκης (X-XI c.)
 - 34.4 Ίωάννης κριτής Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καί Θεσσαλονίκης (XI c.)
 - 34.5 Εὐθύμιος γενηκός λογαθεσίου ἄρκλας..... (X-XI c.)
 - 34.6 Τὰ βασιλικά κομέρκια Θεσσαλονίκης (801-802).
 - 34.7 Άγαλλιανός σπαθάριος καί ἑπαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης (mid. of the X c.)
35. Θράκης
 - 35.1 Ίωάννης νοτάριος καί βικάριος Θράκης (VI c.)
 - 35.2 Βαρδάνιος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (IX-X c.)
 - 35.3 Ίωάννης πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (IX-X c.)
 - 35.4 Ίωάννης πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (IX-X c.)
 - 35.5 Λέων β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (20s-40s of the IX c.)
 - 35.6 Σισίνιος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός τῆς Θράκης (IX c.)
 - 35.7 Γρηγοράς? β' σπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (first half of the IX c.)
 - 35.8 Ν., καί στρατηγός Θράκης (20s-40s of the IX c.)
 - 35.9 Ίσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (X-XI c.)
 - 35.10 Βασίλειος Άργυρός πατρίκιος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (20s-40s of the XI c.)
 - 35.11 Χασάνης άνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καί στρατηγός Θράκης (XI c.)
 - 35.11a Κατακαλῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καί τουρμάρχης Θράκης (XI c.)
 - 35.12 Σισίνιος χαρτουλάριος τῆς Θράκης (VIII-IX c.)
 - 35.13 Βασιλικά κομέρκια τῆς Θράκης (808-809 and 810-811)

- 35A. Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας
35A.14 Δαμιανὸς Δοβρομυρὸς δούξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας (971-?)
- 35B. Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως
35B.15 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (?-975)
35B.16 Θεοφάνης στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s-80s of the X c.)
35B.17 Σταυράκιος στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s-80s of the X c.)
35B.18 Νικηφόρος Ξιφίας στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (?-986)
35B.19 Ἀδράλεστος ἐκ προσώπου Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s-80s of the X c.)
- 35C. Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας.
35C.20 Δαυὶδ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας (1000-?)
- 35D. Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας
35D.21 Πέτρος κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (XI c.)
35D.22 Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (70s-80s of the XI c.)
35D.23 Στέφανος ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (XI c.)
35D.24 Νικόλαος Ζουνναρᾶς κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (last quarter of the XI c.)
36. Θρακήσιοι
36.1 Ἰωάννης κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Θρακησίων (70s of the XI c.)
37. Insulae (Νῆσοι)
37.1 Theodorus Praefectus Insularum (V-VI c.)
- 38 Ἰωαννουπόλεως
38.1 Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως (971-?)
38.2 Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s of the X c.)
- 38A. Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου
38A.3 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου (971-?)
38.4 Στέφανος μητροπολίτης Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s of the X c.)
- 39 Καπαδοκίας
39.1 Κωνσταντῖνος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Καπαδοκίας (XI c.)
- 40 Κερασσοῦντος
40.1 Κοσμάς ἀπο ὑπάτων καὶ γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος Κερασσοῦντος (689-690)
- 41 Κιβεριωτῶν
41.1 Νικηφόρος β' σπαθάριος καὶ καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κιβεριωτῶν (IX c.)
- 42 Κουτζιάγρων
42.1 Στυλιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Κουτζιάγρων (X c.)
43. Κυρικῶν
43.1 Λέων μαῖιστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν Κυρικῶν (XI c.)
44. Κωνσταντείας
44.1 Ν., πρόεδρος Κωνσταντείας (XI-XII c.)
45. Λογγοβαρδίας
45.1 Στέφανος Σερβλίας κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας (XI c.)
46. Μακεδονίας
46.1 Ν., β' σπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IX c.)
46.2 Θεόκτιστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IX c.)
46.3 Ν., πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IX c.)
46.4 Λέων β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IX-X c.)
46.5 Κωνσταντῖνος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xc.)
46.6 Σωτηρήριχος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (X c.)
46.7 Γουδέλιος ? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (X-XI c.)
46.8 Θεοφύλακτος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (X-XI c.)
46.9 Ἰσαάκιος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (XI c.)
46.10 Ῥωμανὸς πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (X c.)
46.11 Ῥωμανὸς? ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (X c.)
46.12 Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (X-XI c.)
46.13 Δοβρυλος οἱ Δοβρυλος Ν., στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (XI c.)
46.14 Ἰωάννης β' σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μακεδονίας (IX c.)

- 46.15 Θεόφυλος νοτάριος Μακεδονίας (IX c.)
- 46A. Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως
46A.16 Στέφανος πραιτωρ Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως (70s of the XI c.)
47. Μεσημβρίας
47.1 Ἀλέξιος β' σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (IX-X c.)
47.2 Βασίλειος β' σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (IX-X c.)
47.3 Γεώργιος β' σπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (IX-X c.)
47.4 Παγκράτιος κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (X c.)
47.5 Βλαδτζερτης μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω Μεσημβρίας (60s-70s of the XI c.)
47.6 Ν., σπαθαροκανδιδάτος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτριγκλίνου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Μεσημβρίας ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ βασιλέως (XI c.)
47.7 Ἰλλαρίων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας (X-XI c.)
47.8 Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας (second half of the XI c.)
48. Μεσοποταμίας
48.1 Ν., καὶ στρατηγὸς Μεσοποταμίας (IX-X c.)
48.2 Μιχαὴλ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Μεσοποταμίας (60s-70s of the XI c.)
48.3 Ν., β' σπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσοποταμίας (IX-X c.)
48.4 Λέων β' σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Μεσοποταμίας (X c.)
49. Μιτυλήνης
49.1 Ἰωάννης Ν., κριτὴς καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ Μιτυλήνης (XI c.)
50. Μογλενῶν
51.1 Ἰωσήφ Μανιάκης τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν (XI c.)
51. Μοσυνόπολις
50.1 Εὐστάθιος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς Μοσυνόπολεως (XI c.)
52. Μώρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως
52.1 Ροῦσος σπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μώρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως (XI c.)
53. Νέος Στρυμῶν
53.1 Στέφανος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Νέου Στρυμόνου (971-?)
54. Νικοπόλεως
54.1 Λέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νικοπόλεως (IX c.)
55. Νίσος
55.1 Νικηφόρος Δεκανὸς κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσος (XI-XII c.)
55.2 Συμεὼν ἐπίσκοπος Νίσος (XI c.)
56. Ὀφίκιον
56.1 Ν., .. καὶ κόμης τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου β' Ὀφικίου (mid. of the IX c.)
56.2 Λέων Περινὸς τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ Ὀφικίου (X-XI c.)
56.3 Νικήτας κριτὴς ἵπποδρόμου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς τοῦ Ὀφικίου (XI c.)
57. Ὀπιμάτων
57.1 Κωνσταντῖνος βεστάρχης καὶ κριτὴς τῶν Ὀπιμάτων (XI c.)
58. Παραδουνάβου
58.1 Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (50s of the XI c.)
58.2 Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (50s-60s of the XI c.)
58.3 Συμεὼν βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (60s of the XI c.)
59. Πατζινακίας
59.1 Ἰωάννης Κεγένης μάγιστρος καὶ ἄρχων Πατζινακίας (1050-1051)
60. Παφλαγονίας
60.1 Ῥωμανὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Παφλαγονίας (XI c.)
61. Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος
61.1 Λέων Νικερίτης ἀναγραφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος (80s of the XI c.)
62. Πλίσκοβα
62.1 Φιλόθεος Φραγκοπούλος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πλίσκοβα (XI c.)
63. Πρεσθλάβας - Πρεσθλαβίτζας
63.1 Ἀέτιος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Περσθλαβίτζας (XI c.)
63.2 Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγάλης Πραισθλάβας (XI c.)

- 63.3 Ἰωάννης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Περσκλάβας (X-XI c.)
 63.4 Ἰωάννης Μαλέας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Περσθλάβας (XI c.)
 63.5 Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας (XI c.)
 63.6 Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνὸς στρατηγὸς Περδσλάβας (XI c.)
 63.7 Λέων Πηγονίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας (XI c.)
 63.8 Μάλις πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσκλαβίτζας (XI c.)
 63.9 Μελίας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας (XI c.)
 64. Πυλῶν
 64.1 Δαμιανὸς β' βεστίτωρ καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν (last quarter of the IX c.)
 65. Ραιδεστός
 65.1 Δαυὶδ β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ βασιλικὸς (?) Ραιδεστός (X c.)
 66. Ρυνδάκος
 66.1 Θεοφάνηςκαὶ διοικητὴς τοῦ Ρυνδάκου καὶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (XI c.)
 67. Σάμος
 67.1 Θεόφυλος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμος (XI c.)
 67.2 Χριστόδουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Σάμος (X-XI c.)
 68. Σελευκείας
 68.1 Ἰωάννης ἀσηκρήτις καὶ κρητὴς Σελευκείας (X-XI c.)
 69. Σεβαστείας
 69.1 Θεόδοτος μητροπολίτης Σεβαστείας (XI c.)
 70. Σεβάστις
 70.1 Λέοντι Σεβάστις (XI c.)
 71. Σεβεριάδος
 71.1 Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος Σεβεριάδος (X-XI c.)
 72. Σέρραι
 72.1 Κωνσταντῖνος μητροπολίτης Σερρών (X c.)
 73. Στρυμῶνος
 73.1 Λύκαστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Στρυμῶνος (X c.)
 74. Σωζοπόλεως
 74.1 Κωνσταντῖνος β' σπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουργάρχης Σωζοπόλεως (IX c.)
 74.2 Ν., ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σ.....ολιτῶν (IX c.)
 75. Τραπεζοῦντος
 75.1 Φωτεινὸς ἐπίσκοπος Τραπεζοῦντος (IX c.)
 76. Τριαδίτζης
 76.1 Νικήτας ἐπίσκοπος Τριαδίτζης (XI-XII c.)
 77. Φιλιππουπόλεως
 77.1 Κωνσταντῖνος Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως
 77.2 Ἀργυρὸς Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεις (1092-95)
 77.3 Βασίλειος μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως (XI c.)
 77.4 Θεόγνωστος μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως (X-XI c.)
 77.5 Στέφανος μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως (XII c.)
 78. Χερσῶνος
 78.1 Λέων (?) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Χερσῶνος (X-XI c.)
 78.2 Ἰωάννης (?) κουμμερκιάριος Χερσῶνος (IX-X c.)
 79. Χρυσοκεφάλος
 79.1 Μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκος τῆς Χρυσοκεφαλῆς (XI c.)
 80. Χρυσοπόλεως
 80.1 Ἰωάννης χαρτουλάριος, γεννηματικὸς Χρυσοπόλεως καὶ τῶν πόρος (X c.)

INDEX

ILLUSTRATIONS

GLOSSARY

23

185

210

INTRODUCTION

For more than 25 years I have been working on the project of a Corpus of the Seals of Medieval Bulgaria which aims to record all seals with reference to the history of medieval Bulgaria.

Working on the seals of the strategy of Preslav, I was forced to adduce their parallels from Bulgaria and overseas. Thus, I came up with the idea to document all Byzantine seals found on the territory of modern Bulgaria.

In 1998 all hitherto discovered seals from Bulgaria were documented (more than 2500 lead seals, 700 lead blanks, 20 moulds and 2 boulloterions). The result was one of the reasons to organize the VIth International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography in Bulgaria and especially in Preslav.

Our next task was to publish this overwhelming manuscript of more 1500 pages and almost 4000 photos. Together with Agato Publishers, I decided to publish it in English. This ambitious plan turned out to be impossible to carry out for two main reasons.

The first problem is of financial nature. The translation into English and the publication expenses demand significant funds which in the present state of affairs in Bulgaria are impossible to amass. That is why it was decided to publish the manuscript in stages, in which there is some progress, i.e. the text was translated which includes the seals with geographical names, namely the provincial administration (secular and ecclesiastical) according to the model adopted by Dumbarton Oaks and already demonstrated in four volumes.

Another difficulty is connected with the dynamic social and economic processes taking place in this country. Every day new seals are being found in Bulgaria mostly by individuals who try to sell them for profit. In the past year the finds number more than several hundred.

Thus, after the publication in 2001 of the Corpus of Seals from Medieval Bulgaria, which included all seals of the medieval Bulgarian state, now we offer to the attention of the experts and readers a *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, volume 1: *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*.

It includes 1 boulloterion, 422 lead seals belonging to 82 titularies from the Byzantine provincial administration (secular and ecclesiastical).

The seals are listed according to the names of the individual administrative units written on the seals and grouped in alphabetical order (according to the Greek alphabet) by toponyms but not according to the territorial areas and their smaller subdivisions, some of which are also presented here by sphragistic materials. In the cases when several toponyms are inscribed on the seal as united administrative areas, the list includes the first toponym, which has to be assumed as a centre of unification where its ruler resided.

Some short information is provided for the present locality, time of foundation, duration of existence of every administrative unit. As regards those on the territory of present-day Bulgaria, the names of other holders of the office are listed etc.

After providing the data of the seal, commentary is included on the person of its owner, other known evidence about it extracted from narrative sources or from other seals, as well as information on his relatives.

This analysis aims to determine the chronological framework of seals, i.e. the time when this administrative centre was ruled by the owner of the respective seal (or seals). The information obtained by sphragistic data occupies a special place. The seals reflect some

dynamic processes and they are the only sources for information about lots of settlements and especially these situated in the Bulgarian lands.

Most of the seals bear toponyms from Western Byzantium and most of them came from Bulgarian cities and regions. There are also some seals which belonged to the rulers of the East, although they are few in number. The latter are chronologically and territorially isolated from another and they attest the accidental character of the exchanged correspondence. Some of the owners of the seals are known to have taken part in military expeditions to the West while others just visited their relatives or friends. And, *vice versa*, the seals which came from the West, especially these from the Bulgarian lands, witness a regular correspondence with reference to concrete events and persons, whose names had been written on the seals, and these persons were active "actors" in this historical "theatre".

At the end of volume there are indices of personal and family names, geographical locations, titles, offices and iconographical images on the seals.

The writing of this book would have been impossible without the cooperation of colleagues and institutions in Bulgaria and abroad.

First of all, I would like to thank my colleagues in Bulgaria who provided me with materials, the people who excavate Pliska, Preslav, Silistra, Veliko Turnovo and other settlements of medieval Bulgaria and who keep these seals: Dr. Vladimir Penchev from the National Museum of History; Dr. Dochka Aladzova and Zhenia Zhekova from the Shoumen Museum of History; Dr. Dimitur Draganov from the Yambol Museum of History; Dr. Ivan Karayotov from the Bourgas Museum of Archaeology; Krasimir Velkov from the Nova Zagora Museum of History; Dr. Boris Borisov from the Radnevo Museum; Dimitur Yankov and Mariana Minkova from the Stara Zagora Museum of History; Rositsa Moreva from the Plovdiv Museum of Archaeology; D. Aladzhov from the Haskovo Museum of History; Dr. Ilya Prokopov from the Kujstendil Museum of History; Dr. Hristo Haritonov from the Veliko Turnovo Museum of History and many, many others whose names are impossible to mention.

I am grateful to a number of Bulgarian collectors who supplied me with materials: N. Nikolov from Razgrad; V. Pantelev from Varna; St. Bilik from Sofia; Al. Peikov from Veliko Turnovo; Ivan Yotov from Yambol and many others whose names I cannot disclose because of their expressed wish.

Special thanks are due to our sigillographic body whose few but close-knit representatives assisted me in tracing parallels of the Bulgarian seals in their collections. I must mention the names of the late Nikos Oikonomides; Valentina S. Shandrovskaja; Werner Seibt; Jean-Claude Cheynet; John Nesbitt; Nikolay Alexeenko, etc.

I owe special gratitude to the governing body of Dumbarton Oaks and the Byzantinistics Committee in Vienna where on several occasions I have had the opportunity to work and discover parallels of the seals from Bulgaria.

ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS CITED

- Алексиада** : Ана Комнина, Алексиада, превод в ГИБИ, 8, София, 1971.
Аристакес Ластивертци : Аристакес Ластивертци, *Повествование вардапета Аристакеса Ластивертци*, перевод К. Н. Юзбашян, Москва, 1968.
Арутюнова-Фиданян, Армяне : Арутюнова-Фиданян, В. А. *Армяне халкадониты на восточных границах византийской империи (XI в.)*, Ереван, 1980.
Арутюнова-Фиданян, Васпуракан : Арутюнова-Фиданян, В. А. *Фема Васпуракан.- ВВр.*, 38, 1977, 85-93.
Бакалов, Български владетел : Бакалов, Г. *Средновековният български владетел (титлатура и инсигнии)*, София, 1985.
Бешевлиев, Първобългарски : Бешевлиев, В. *Първобългарски надписи*, София, 1979.
Божилев, Сарацинопул : Божилев, И. *Печатът на Леон Сарацинопул - стратег на Йоанопол и Доростол.- ИПр.*, 1970, 5, 98-109.
Божилев, Хазе : Божилев, И. *Анонимът на Хазе. България и Византия на Долния Дунав в края на X век*, София, 1979.
Божилев-Гюзелев, История : Божилев, И., В. Гюзелев. *История на средновековна България (VII-XIV в.)*, София, 1999.
БСГК : *Български средновековни градове и крепости*, 1, Варна, 1981.
ВВр. : *Византийский временник*
Герасимов, Плиска : Герасимов, Т. *Византийски оловни печати от Плиска.- ИАИ*, 14, 1940-1942, 169-171
ГИБИ : *Гръцки извори за българската история*
ГНМ : *Годишник на народния музей*
ГНИМ : *Годишник на Националния исторически музей*
Гюзелев, Анхиало : Гюзелев, В. *Анхиало. Несебър.- БСГК*, 1, 325-383.
Златарски, История, I-III : В. Н. Златарски. *История на българската държава през средните векове*, I, 2 (София, 1971); II-III, (София, 1972) [фототипни издания].
Зонара : Йоан Зонара, *История*, превод в ГИБИ, 7, София, 1968.
Иванов, БСМ : Иванов, Й. *Български старини из Македония*, София, 1970 [фототипно издание].
ИАИ : *Известия на археологическия институт*
ИБАД : *Известия на българското археологическо дружество*
ИБАИ : *Известия на българския археологически институт*
ИБИД : *Известия на българското историческо дружество*
ИМЮБ : *Известия на музеите от Югоизточна България*
ИНМВ : *Известия на народния музей Варна*
ИПр : *Исторически преглед*
ИРАИК : *Известия русского археологического института в Константинополе*
ИРАИМК : *Известия Российской академии истории материальной культуры*
Йорданов, Нови данни : Йорданов, И. *Нови данни за Преслав в края на X век.- Преслав*, 3, Варна, 1983, 104-114.
Йорданов, Дамян Добромир : Йорданов, И. *Моливдовули на Дамян Добромир, дук на Тракия и Месопотамия.- ИНМВ*, 20, 1984, 99-105.
Йорданов, Силистра I-IV : Йорданов, И. *Неиздадени византийски печати от Силистра (I). - ИНМВ*, 19, 1983, 97-110; (II), *ИНМВ*, 21, 1985, 98-107; (III), *ИНМВ*, 24, 1988, 88-104; (IV), *ИНМВ*, 28, 1992, 229-245
Йорданов, Преславица : Йорданов, И. *Моливдовули на стратежи на Преславица от XI в.- Нумизматика*, 1, 1984, 5-12
Йорданов, Марица Изток : Йорданов, И. *Византийски оловни печати от долното течение на Тунджа и Марица.- Марица-Изток*, 1, Раднево, 1991, 125-139.
Йорданов, Плиска : Йорданов, И. *Византийски оловни печати от Плиска.- Плиска-Преслав*, 5, 1992, 281-301

Йорданов, Девелт : Йорданов, И. Печатите на комеркиарията Девелт, София, 1992.

Йорданов, Архиепери на Дръстър : Йорданов, И. Печати на архиепери на Дръстър от XI век.- *Добруджа*, 2, 1992, 163-168.

Йорданов, Берое : Йорданов, И. Берое (X-XII в.) - според данните на сфрагистиката. - *ИМЮБ*, 15, 1993, 57-79

Йорданов, Преслав : Йорданов, И. Печатите от стратегията Преслав, София, 1993.

Йорданов, Анхиало: Йорданов, И. Анхиало според данните на сфрагистиката.- *Археология*, 1993, 3, 36-51.

Йорданов, Василий Апокап: Йорданов, И. Печатите на Василий Апокап от втората половина на XI в.- *Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 4, 1995-97, 106-115.

Йорданов, Кеген: Йорданов, И. Печати на Йоан Кеген магистър и архонт на Печенегия (1050-1051).- *Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 1998, 1, 96-102.

Йорданов, Корпус : Йорданов, И. Корпус на печатите на средновековна България, С., 2001

Йорданов, Леон Дрим, с. Йорданов, И. Печатите на Леон Дрим и византийската администрация в българските земи през XI в.- *Сборник в чест на проф. Иван Божилов*, София, 2002, 145-150.

Йорданов-Аладжов, Хасковско: Йорданов, И., Д. Аладжов. Непубликувани оловни византийски печати от Хасковско (I).- *Археология*, 1991, 1, 44-56

Йорданов-Койчев-Мутафов, Ахтопол : Йорданов, И., А. Койчев, В. Мутафов. Средновековният Ахтопол (VI-XII в.) според данните на нумизматиката и сфрагистиката. - *Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 1998, 2, 67-89.

Каждан, Соц. состав : Каждан, А. П. Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии X-XII вв., Москва, 1974.

Каждан, Армяне : Каждан, А. П. Армяне в составе господствующего класса Византии, XI-XII вв., Ереван, 1975.

Кекавмен : *Советы и рассказы Кекавмена. Сочинение византийского полководца XI века.* Подготовка текста, введение, перевод и комментарий, Литаврин, Г. Г., Москва, 1972.

Кинам : Йоан Кинам, История, превод в ГИИ, 7, София, 1968.

Коледаров, Македония : Коледаров, П. Името Македония в историческата география, София, 1985.

Кузев, За имената : Кузев, А. За имената на средновековната крепост на Дунавския остров Пъкуял луй Соаре.- *ИНМВ*, 13, 1977, 57-68.

Лев Диакон : Лев Диакон, История, Москва, 1988.

Литаврин, България и Византия : Литаврин, Г. Г. България и Византия (XI-XII век), София, 1987.

ЛИБИ : Латински извори за българската история

Лихачев, Богоматери : Лихачев, Н. П. Историческое значение итало-греческой иконописи: изображения Богоматери в произведениях итало-греческих иконописцев и их влияние на композиции некоторых прославленных русских икон, Санкт Петербург, 1911.

Лихачев, Датированные : Лихачев, Н. П. Датированные византийские печати.- *ИРАИМК*, 3, 1924, 152-224.

Лихачев, Моливдовулы : Лихачев, Н. П. Моливдовулы греческого востока, Москва, 1991.

Любарский, Михаил Псел : Любарский, Я. Н. Михаил Псел, личность и творчество, Москва, 1978.

Маслев, Печати : Маслев, С. Византийски оловни печати от Плиска и Преслав.- *ИАИ*, 20, 1955, 445-462.

Мутафчиев, Дръстър : Мутафчиев, П. Съдбините на средновековния Дръстър.- *Избрани произведения*, 2, София, 1973, 19-103.

Мушмов, Печати : Мушмов, Н. А. Византийски оловни печати от сбирката на Народния музей.- *ИБАИ*, 8, 1934, 162-183.

Недков, Идриси : Недков, Б. България и съседните ѝ земи през XII в. според Идриси. С., 1960.

Николова, Българската православна църква : Николова, Б. Устройство и управление на българската православна църква (IX-XIV в.), София, 1997.

ОБАИ: Отчет на Българския археологически институт

Панченко, Каталог : Панченко, Б. А. Коллекции русского археологического института в Константинополе. Каталог моливдовулов.- *ИРАИК*, 8, 1903, 199-246 (№ 1-124); 9, 1904, 341-396 (№ 125-300); 13, 1908, 78-151 (№ 300-500)

Панченко, Абоба-Плиска : Панченко, Б. А. Абоба-Плиска. Монеты и печати.- *ИРАИК*, 10, 1905, 291-300.

Повесть временных лет, ч. I, Москва, 1950.

Розен : Император Василий Болгаробойца, извлечение из летописи Яхьи Антиохийского, издал, перевел и объяснил, бар. Розен, В. Р., Санкт Петербург, 1873.

Сахаров, Дипломатия Святослава : Сахаров, А. Н. Дипломатия Святослава, Москва, 1982.

СБЛ, 3: Стара българска литература, 3. Исторически съчинения, съст. и ред. И. Божилов, София, 1983.

Скабаланович, Виз. государство : Скабаланович, Н. Византийское государство и церковь в XI веке, Санкт Петербург, 1884.

Снегаров, Охрид, I : Снегаров, И. История на Охридската архиепископия, I, София, 1995 [фототипно издание]

Соколова, Херсонес : Соколова, И. В. Монеты и печати византийского Херсона, Ленинград, 1983.

Стоименов, Временна : Стоименов, Д. Временна византийска военна администрация в българските земи (971-987/988).- *Годишник на СУ "Св. Климент Охридски". Научен център за славяно-византийски проучвания "Иван Дуйчев"*, 82, 2, 1988, 39-67.

Тъпкова-Заимова, Долният Дунав : Тъпкова-Заимова, В. Долни Дунав - гранична зона на византийския Запад. Към историята на северните и североизточните български земи, края на X-XII в., София, 1976.

Шандровская, Сфрагистика : Шандровская, В. С. Сфрагистика.- В: *Искусство Византии в собраниях СССР. Каталог выставки*, 1-3, Москва, 1977.

Шандровская, Моливдовулы : Шандровская, В. С. Моливдовулы как исторический источник.- *Сб. Българско средновековие. Българо-съветски сборник в чест на 70 годишнина на проф. И. Дуйчев*, София, 1980, 147-152

Шандровская, Болгария : Шандровская, В. С. Из истории Болгарии X-XI вв. по данным сфрагистики.- *Byzantinobulgarica*, 7, 1981, 455-459.

Шандровская, Васпуракан : Шандровская, В. С. К истории фемы Васпуракан.- *ВВр.*, 55, 1994, 152-161

Шандровская, Девельта : Шандровская, В. С. Печати коммерciareв Девельта в собрании Эрмитажа.- *Античная древность и средние века*, Екатеринбург, 32, 2001, 148-153.

Юзбашян, Армянские, : Юзбашян, К. Н. Армянские государства эпохи Багратидов и Византия IX-XI вв., Москва, 1988.

Юркова, Перник : Юркова, Й. Нумизматични и сфрагистични паметници (867-1195/1203).- *Перник*, 2, София, 1983, 102-165.

Ahrweiler, Recherches : Ahrweiler, H. Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siecles.- *BCH*, 84, 1960, 1-111.

Ahrweiler, Le Mer : Ahrweiler, H. Byzance et la Mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siecles, Paris, 1966.

Akropolites : Georgii Acropolitae. Opera, ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig, 1903.

Alexiade : Anne Comnene, Alexiade, I-III, ed. B. Leib, Paris, 1937-1945.

Anonyme de Bari : Annales Baresnes, MGH SS, V.

Asdracha, Thrace : Asdracha, C. La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire: geographie ecclesiastique et prosopographie (VIIIe-XIIe s.).- *Geographie historique du monde Meditteraneen*, Paris, 1988, 221-309

Asdracha, Rhodopes : Asdracha, C. Les Rhodopes au XIVe siecle administration et prosopographie ecclesiastiques.- *BNJ*, 23, 1979, 1-64.

Attaleiates, Historia : Attaleiatae, M. Historia, CB, ed. Im. Bekkeri, Bonn, 1853.

Avramea - Feissel, Inscriptions : Avramea, A. et D. Feissel, Inventares en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de byzance.- *ТМ*, 10, 1987, 359-398.

Banescu, Recueil : **Banescu, N.** Un nouveau recueil de sceaux byzantins.- *Byzantion*, 10, 1935, 723-733.

Banescu, O colectie : **Banescu, N.** O colectie de sigilii bizantine inedite.- *Academia Romana. Memoriile sectiunii istorice*, ser. III, t. 20, mem. 5, 1938, 1-12

Banescu, Duches : **Banescu, N.** *Les duches byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie*, Bucuresti, 1946.

Banescu-Papahagi, Silistrie : **Banescu, N., Papahagi, P.** Plombs byzantins decouverts a Silistrie.- *Byzantion*, 10, 1935, 601-604.

Barnea, Dinogetia : **Barnea, I.** Apropos de decouverte de deux sceaux byzantins de Dinogetia.- *Dacia*, 2, 1958, 473-478.

Barnea, Noi Sigilii : **Barnea, I.** Noi Sigilii bizantine de la Dunarea de Jos.- *SCIV*, 17.2, 1966, 277-297.

Barnea, Durostorum-Dorostolon : **Barnea, I.** Sigilii bizantine de la Durostorum-Dorostolon.- *Pontica*, 15, 1982, 201-212.

Barnea, Nord de la Dobroudja : **Barnea, I.** Sceaux byzantins inedits du Nord de la Dobroudja.- *RESEE*, 23, 1985, 29-35.

Barzos, Komnenoi : **Barzos, K.** *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, I-II, Thessalonica, 1984.

BCH : *Bulletin de correspondance hellenique*

Benešević, Ranglisten : **Benešević, V.** Die byzantinische Ranglisten nach dem Kletorologion Philotei und nach den Jerusalem Handschriften zusammengestellt und revidiert.- *BNJ*, 5, 1926/1927, 97-167.

Beševliev, Spätgriechischen : **Beševliev, V.** *Spätgriechischen und spätlateinischen Inschriften aus Bulgarien*, Berlin, 1964.

B-NJ : *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher*

BZ : *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

Boll. Grot. : *Bolletino della Greca di Grottaferrata*

Brehier, Institutions : **Brehier, L.** *Le monde byzantin. Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1949.

Bury, System : **Bury, J.** *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century. with a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos*, London, 1911.

Cantacuzene, I. : *Cantacuzeni, Ioan imperstoris historiarum, libri IV*, I-III, ed. **J. Schopen**, Bonn, 1828-1832.

Cheyne, Brachamioi : **Cheyne, J.-C. et J.-F. Vannier.** *Etude genealogique et prosopographique*. Serie Byzantina Sorbonensia, 5, Paris, 1986, 57-75.

Cheyne, Du stratege au duc : **Cheyne, J.-C.** Du stratege de theme au duc : chronologie de l'evolution au cours du XI siecle.- *TM*, 9, 1985, 181-194.

Cheyne, Patronym : **Cheyne, J.-C.** Du prenom au patronyme : les etrangers a Byzance (Xe-XIe siecles).- *SBS*, 1, 1987, 57-67.

Cheyne, Antioche et Tarse : **Cheyne, J.-C.** Sceaux byzantins des musees d'Antioche et de Tarse.- *TM*, 12, 1994, 391-478.

Cheyne, Zacos, III : **Cheyne, J.-C.** *Byzantine Seals from the Collection of George Zacos*.- **Spink Auction**, 127 [07. 10. 1998]; 132 [25. 05. 1999]; 135 [06. 10. 1999].

Darrouzes, Notitae : **Darrouzes, J.** *Notitae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitane*. Texte critique, introduction et notes, Paris, 1981.

De Them. : **Pertusi, A.** *Constantino Porfirogenito. De thematibus*. Introduzione, testo, critico, commento, Cita del Vaticano, 1952.

Diaconus, Bonn : **Leonis Diaconi**, *Historiae*, ed. **Hase**, *CSHB*, Bonn, 1828.

Diaconu, Autour : **Diaconu, P.** Autour de la localisation de la Petit Preslav.- *RESEE*, III.1-2, 1965, 44-49.

DOP : *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

Dölger, Schatzkammern : **Dölger, F.** *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*, München, 1948.

Dölger, Regesten : **Dölger, F.** *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Östromischen Reiches von 565-1453*, München-Berlin, 1924-1965.

Dölger - Wirth, Regesten : **Dölger, Fr. und Wirth, P.** *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Östromischen Reiches*, 2, 1025-1204, München, 1999.

Ebersolt, Constantinople : **Ebersolt, J.** Sceaux byzantins du musee de Constantinople.- *RN*, IV.18, 1914, 207-243, 377-409

EO : *Echos d'Orient*

ΕΦΣ : *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς σύλογος Κωνσταντινοπόλεως*

Falkenhausen, Südtalien : **Falkenhausen, V.** *Untersuchungen über die byzantinischen Herrschaft in Südtalien vom 9 bis 11 Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1967.

Felix, Islam : **Felix, W.** *Byzanz und islamische Welt in fruheren 11. Jahrhundert*, Byzantina Vindobonensia, XIV, Wien, 1981.

Ferluga, Nize jedinice : **Ferluga, J.** Nize vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog urecenija.- *ZRVI*, 2, 1953, 63-98.

Ferluga, Byzantium : **Ferluga, J.** *Byzantium on the Balkans : Studies of the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1976.

Gabras, Briefe : **Fatouros, G.** *Die Briefe des Michael Cabras (ca 1290 - nach 1350)*, WBS, X.1, Wien, 1973.

Gautier, Obituaire : **Gautier, P.** L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator.- *REB*, 27, 1969, 235-262.

Gautier, Blachernes : **Gautier, P.** Le Synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Etude prosopographique.- *REB*, 29, 1971, 213-284.

Gautier, Italikos : **Michel Italikos.** *Letters et Discours*, ed. **P. Gautier**, Paris, 1972.

Georgiev, Au sujet : **Georgiev, P.** Au sujet de l'interpretation des sceaux de plomb de l'archeveque Georges de Bulgarie.- *Etudes Balkaniques*, 1980, 3, 120-129.

Georgiev, L'organisation religieuse : **Georgiev, P.** L'organisation religieuse dans les terres bulgares du Nord-Est apres l'an 971.- *Dobrudza*, Sofia, 1987, 146-159.

Goullard, Proces : **Goullard, J.** Le proces officiel de Jean l'Italien les actes et leurs sous-entendu.- *TM*, 9, 1985, 135-174.

Gray-Birch, Catalogue : **Gray Birch, W.** *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1898.

Gregoriou-Ioanidou : **Gregoriou-Ioanidou** : *Παρακμή και πτώση του θεματικού θεσμού*, Thessalonica, 1985.

Grumel, Regestes : **Grumel, V.** *Les registres des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*. I. Actes des patriarches, fasc. 1-3. Les registres de 381 a 1206, Paris, 1932-1947)

Grünbard, Apokapes : **Grünbard, M.** Die Familie Apokapes in Lichte neuer Quellen.- *SBS*, 5, 1998, 29-43.

Guilland, Domestique : **Guilland, R.** Le domestique des scholes.- *REB*, 8, 1950, 5-63.

Guilland, Recherches : **Guilland, R.** *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 1-2, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967.

Guilland, VR : **Guilland, R.** *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin*. Variorum Reprint, London, 1976.

Hierocles : **Le Synekdemus d'Hierocle**, ed. **E. Honigmann**, Brussel, 1939.

Honigmann, Ostgrenze : **Honigmann, E.** *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen*, *CFHB*, 3, Brussel, 1935.

Hunger, Zehn : **Hunger, H.** Zehn Unedierte Byzantinische Beamten-Siegel.- *JÖBG*, 17, 1968, 179-188.

Ivirion, I, II : *Archives de l'Atos XIV et XV. Actes d'Iviron*, ed.: **J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssantou**, avec la collaboration de **V. Kravari et H. Metreveli**, Paris, 1985, 1990.

Janin, Grands centres : **Janin, R.** *Les Eglises et les monasteres des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975.

Jordanov, La strategie : **Jordanov, I.** La strategie de Preslav aux X-XI siecles - selon les donnees de la sigillographie.- *SBS*, 1, 1987, 89-97.

Jordanov, Domestiques : **Jordanov, I.** Molybdoebulles de domestiques des scholes du dernier quart du X s. - *SBS*, 2, 1990, 203-213.

Jordanov, Sceaux : **Jordanov, I.** Sceaux de deux notables byzantins de la fin du XI s.- *Etudes*

Balkaniques, 3, 1981, 92-97.

Jordanov, Plovdiv: **Jordanov, I.** Medieval Plovdiv, According to the Sphragistic Data.- *SBS*, 4, 1995, 111-138.

Jordanov, Dobri dol: **Jordanov, I.** Byzantine Lead Seals from the Stronghold near Dobri Dol, Plovdiv Region. - *RN*, 157, 2001, 443-469.

Jordanov, Melnitsa: **Jordanov, I.** Byzantine Lead Seals from the Village of Melnitsa (district of Elkhovo, Bulgaria).-*SBS*, 7, 2002, 21-57.

Kalič, Niš: **Kalič, J.** Niš au Moyen age.- *Исторически часопис*, 31, 1984, 5-40

Kazhdan, Some notes: **Kazhdan, A.** Some Notes on the Byzantine Prosopography of the Ninth Through the Twelfth Centuries.- *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 12, 1987, 63-76.

Khitrowo, *Itinéraires*: **B. de Khitrowo**, Itinéraires russes en Orient, Geneve, 1889.

Kinnamus: *Joannis Cinnami, epitome rerum ab Joanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, Bonnae, 1836.

Kinnamos: **Kinnamos, J.** *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, translated by **Charles M. Brand**, New York, 1976.

Koltzida-Makre: **Koltzida-Makre, I.** *Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα συλλογής Ορφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικού Μουσείου Ἀθηνών*, Athens, 1996.

Konstantopoulos: **Konstantopoulos, K. M.** *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα του ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου*, Athens, 1917.

Konstantopoulos, *Stamuly*: **Konstantopoulos, K. M.** *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα. Ἡ συλλογὴ Ἀναστασίου Κ. Π. Σταμούλη*, Athens, 1930.

Kühn, *Armee*: **Kühn, H.-J.** *Die byzantinische Armee in 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata*, Wien, 1991.

Laurent, Bulletin, I: **Laurent, V.** Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine. Quinze années de découvertes et d'étude (915-1929).- *Byzantion*, 5, 1929-1930, 571-654.

Laurent, *Bulles metriques*: **Laurent, V.** *Les bulles metriques dans la sigillographie byzantine*, Athens, 1932.

Laurent, Synodicon: **Laurent, V.** La liste episcopale du Synodicon de la metropole d'Adrianopol, *EO*, 38, 1939, 1-34.

Laurent, Sceaux inedits: **Laurent, V.** Sceaux byzantins inedits.- *BZ*, 33, 1933, 331-361.

Laurent, *Orghidan*: **Laurent, V.** *Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan*, Paris, 1952.

Laurent, *Vatican*: **Laurent, V.** *Les sceaux byzantins du Medaillier Vatican*, Vatican, 1962.

Laurent, Gouverneurs d'Antioch: **Laurent, V.** La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine. - *Melanges de Universite Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth*, 38, 1962, 221-254.

Laurent, *Corpus V*: **Laurent, V.** *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin. Tome V: L'eglise, partie, 1-3*, Paris, 1963-1972.

Laurent, *Corpus, II*: **Laurent, V.** *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin. Tome II: L'administration centrale*, Paris, 1981.

Lavra I: Actes de Lavra, I, ed. **P. Lemerle, N. Svoronos, A. Guillou, D. Papachryssantou**, Paris, 1970 [Archives del'Athos V].

Lemerle, *Cinq etudes*: **Lemerle, P.** *Cinq etudes sur le XIe siecle byzantin*, Paris, 1977.

Lemerle, Le testament: **Lemerle, P.** Le testament d'Eustathios Boilas (avril 1059).- *Cinq etudes sur le XIe siecle byzantin*, Paris, 1977, 38-55.

Lemerle, *Philippe*: **Lemerle, P.** *Philippe et la Macedoine orientale*, Paris, 1945.

Magearu, Paradunavon: **Magearu, Al.** The Military Organization of Paradunavon.- *Byzantinoslavica*, 60, 1999, 2, 421-446.

Magearu, Restavration: **Magearu, Al.** The Restavration of the Byzantine Rule on the Danube.- *RESEE*, 38, 1-2, 1999-2000, 5-23.

Markianos 524: **Lampros, S.** Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524, *NE*, 8, 1911, 3-59, 113-192.

Mathieu d'Edesse: **Mathieu d'Edesse.** *Chronique de Matthaüs d'Edesse continuee par Gregoire le pretre*, par **M. E. Dulaurier**, Paris, 1858.

MGH SS: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.

MM: **Miklosich, F., J. Müller.** *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. Vol. 1-6, Vindobonae, 1860-1890.

Moravcik, *Byzantinoturcica*: **Moravcsik, G.** *Byzantinoturcica: I. Die Byzantinische Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker; II. Sprachreste der Turkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1958.

Mordtmann, *Περὶ*: **Mordtmann, A. D.** *Περὶ βυζαντινῶν μολυβδοβούλλων*.- *ΕΦΣ*, 8, 1872-1873, 57-81.

Mordtmann, Grece: **Mordtmann, A. D.** Plombs byzantins de la Grece et du Peloponese.- *Rev. arch.*, 33, 1877, 289-298; 34, 1877, 46-60.

Mordtmann *Εὐρώπης*: **Mordtmann, A. D.** *Μολυβδόβουλλα βυζαντινὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης*.- *ΕΦΣ*, 17, 1882-1883, 144-152.

NE: *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*

Nesbitt-Oikonomides: *DOS*, 1: **J. W. Nesbitt and Oikonomides, N.** *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 1: *Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, Washington, D. C., 1991.

Nesbitt-Oikonomides: *DOS*, 2: **J. W. Nesbitt and Oikonomides, N.** *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 2: *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, Washington, D. C., 1994.

Nesbitt-Oikonomides: *DOS*, 3: **J. W. Nesbitt and Oikonomides, N.** *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 3: *West, Northwest, and Central Asia Minor and the Orient*, Washington, D. C., 1996.

Nesbitt, McGeer and Oikonomides, *DOS*, 4: **E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides**, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 4: *The East*, Washington, D. C., 2001.

Oikonomides, Decret synodal: **Oikonomides, N.** Un decret synodal inedit du patriarche Jean VIII Xiphilin.- *REB*, 18, 1960, 55-78.

Oikonomides, Mesopotamie: **Oikonomides, N.** Recherches sur l'histoire du Bas-Danube aux X-XIe siecles: La Mesopotamie de l'Occident.- *RESEE*, 3, 1965, 57-79.

Oikonomides, *Listes*: **Oikonomides, N.** *Les listes de prestance byzantines des IXe et Xe siecles*. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire, Paris, 1972.

Oikonomides, Evolution: **Oikonomides, N.** L'evolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantine au XIe siecle (1025-1118).- *TM*, 6, 1976, 125-152.

Oikonomides, *Dated*: **Oikonomides, N.** *A collection of dated Byzantine Seals*, Washington, 1986.

Oikonomides, *Presthlavitza*: **Oikonomides, N.** *Presthlavitza, the Little Preslav*.- *Südost-Forschungen*, 42, 1983, 1-9.

Oikonomides, *Kommerkiarioi*: **Oikonomides, N.** Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi.- *DOP*, 40, 1986, 33-53.

Oikonomides, *Premiere occupation Bulgarie*: **Oikonomides, N.** A propos de la premiere occupation byzantine de la Bulgarie (971-ca 986).- *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ*, *Melanges offerts a Helene Ahrweiler*, Serie BYZANTINA SORBONENSIA 16, Paris, 1988, 581-589.

Patmos: *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου*. A: *Αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. **E. Branuse**, Athens, 1980; B: *Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν*, ed. **M. Nystazopulu-Pelikidu**, Athens, 1980.

Petit, Documents: **Petit, L.** Documents inedits sur le consile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires.- *BBp*, 11, 1904, 465-493.

PG: **Migne, J. P.** *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*.

Photius, *Episules*: *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani, episulae et ampilochia*, rec. **B. Laourdae, L. G. Westernik**, Lipsae, 1983.

PL: **Migne, J. P.** *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*.

Polemis, *Doukai*: **Polemis, D.** *The Doukai. A contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, 1968.

Povest' vremennyh let: The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian. Text, transl. by **S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowirz-Wetzor**, Cambridge Mass, 1953.

Protaton: *Archives de l'Atos VII. Actes du Protaton*, ed. **D. Papachryssantou**, Paris, 1975.

Pselos, *SM*: **Psellos, Michaelis.** *Scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita*, ed. **E. Kurtz** -

F. Drexel, vol. I- II, Milano, 1936-1941.
Pselos, MB : **Michael Pselos**, *Επιστολαί*, εκδ. Κ. Ν. Σάθας, MB, 5, Athens, 1874.
REB: *Revue des etudes byzantines*
REG : *Revue des etudes grecques*
RESEE : *Revue des etudes sudest Europeenes*
Regling, Bleisiegel, III: **Regling, K.** Byzantinische Bleisiegel III.-BZ, 24, 1923-1924, 96-107.
RN : *Revue numismatique*
Rostovtsew-Prou : **Rostovsew, M., M. Prou.** *Catalogue des plombs de l'antiquite du moyen age et des temps modernes conserves au departement des medailles et antiques de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris, 1900.
SBS: *Studies of Byzantine Sigillography*
Schlumberger, Sig. : **Schlumberger, G.** *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884.
Schlumberger, Inedite, IV : **Schlumberger, G.** Sceaux byzantins inedits (Quatrieme serie).- *REG*, 13, 1900, 467-492, nos. 146-203.
Schlumberger, Inedite, V : **Schlumberger, G.** Sceaux byzantins inedits (Cinquieme serie).- *RN*, IV, 20, 1905, 321-354, nos. 204-295.
Schlumberger, Monuments byzantins : **Schlumberger, G.** Monuments byzantins inedits.- *Florilegium Melchior de Vogue*, Paris, 1909, 555-568.
Schlumberger, MA: **Schlumberger, G.** *Melanges d'archeologie byzantine. Monnaies, medailles, mereaux, jetons, amulettes, bulles d'or et de plomb, poids de verre et de bronze, ivoires, objets d'orfèvrerie, bagues, reliquaires etc.*, Paris, 1895.
Seibt, Bleisiegel : **Seibt, W.** *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*. 1 Teil, Wien, 1978
Seibt, Bulgarischen Erzbischofs : **Seibt, W.** Identifizierung des bulgarischen Erzbischofs warend der Herrschaft des Johannes Tzimiskes mit hilfe zweier Siegeltypen.- *JÖB*, 24, 1975, 55-59.
Seibt, Vaspourakan : **Seibt, W.** Die Eingliederung von Vaspourakan in das Byzantinische Reich (1019-1022).- *Handes Amsorya*, 92, 1978 (publ. 1980), 50-67.
Seibt, BZ, 89 : **Seibt, W.** Rez. : **Ivan Jordanov**, *Pecatite ot strategijata v Preslav (971-1088)*, Sofia, 1993.- *BZ*, 89, 1999, 134-138.
Seibt, 'Αρσακίδης : **Seibt, W.** 'Αρσακίδης / Arsakuni - Armenische Aristokraten in Byzantinischen Diensten.- *JÖB*, 44, 1994, 349-359.
Seibt, Bulgarische Geschichte: **Seibt, W.** Sigillographische beiträge zur Bulgarischen Geschichte.- *Dobrudja*, 12, 1995, 224-232.
Seibt, Geographie Bulgariens : **Seibt, W.** Probleme der historischen Geographie Bulgariens im spatern 10. und 11 Jahrhundert - ein sigillographischer Beitrag. - *Numismatic and Sphragistic Contributions to History of the Western Black Sea Coast*, Varna, 12-13.09.2001 (in print)
Seibt-Zarnitz, Kunstwerk : **Seibt, W., L. Zarnitz.** *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk*, Wien, 1997.
Seyrig : *Les sceaux byzantins inedits de la collection Henri Seyrig*, ed. by **Cheyne, J.-C., C. Morrisson, W. Seibt**, Paris, 1991.
Skoulatos, Personages : **Skoulatos, B.** *Les personages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthese*, Louvain, 1980.
Skylitzes : **Skylitze Ioannis.** *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. **I. Thurn**, CFHB, 5, Berlin-New York, 1973.
Skylitzes, Continuatus : 'Η Συνέχεια τῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτζη (**Ioannes Skylitizes Continuatus**), ed.: **E. T. Τσολακῆς**, Thessalonica, 1968.
Skylitzes-Wortley: **Skylitzes, John.** *A Synopsis of Histories (811-1057 A.D.)*, by **Wortley, J.** Manitoba, 2000.
Sode, Berlin, II : **Sode, C.** *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin*, II, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA, 14, Bonn, 1997.
Speck, Berlin, I : **Speck, P.** *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin, (West)*, I, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA, 5, Bonn, 1986.
Stamoules *Θρακικά* : **Stamoules, A.** 'Αρχιερατικοὶ κατάλογοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Θράκης.- *Θρακικά*, 14, 1940, 61-193.
Stavrakos : **Stavrakos, Ch.** *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung*

des Numismatischen Museums Athen, Wiesbaden, 2000.

Swiencicky, Lwow ; **Swiencicky, D.** Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Sammlungen von Lwow.- *ИБВД*, 16-18, 1940, 434-441.

Szemioth-Wasilewski, Varsovie : **Szemioth, A., T. Wasilewski.** Sceaux byzantins du Musee Nationale de Varsovie.- *Studia Zrodlpznawze*, 14, 1969, 63-89.

Tafel-Thomas, Urkunden : **Tafel, G. L., G. M. Thomas**, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, I, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum: Diplomata et acta 12-14, Wien, 1856-1857.

Theophylacte d'Achrida, *Lettres* : **Theophylacte d'Achrida.** *Lettres, introduction, texte, traduction et notes* par **P. Gautier**, CFHB, XVI.1, series Thesalonicensis, Thessalonica, 1986.

TIB : *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*

TM : *Travaux et Memoire*

Touratsoglou, Ritsos : **Touratsoglou, J.** Les sceaux byzantins en plomb de la collection Michel Ritsos au musee de Thessalonique.- *Byzantina*, 5, 1973, 269-287.

Tzetzes, Epistulae : **Tzetzes, Ioannes.** *Epistulae*, ed. **P. Leone**, Leipzig, 1972.

Wassiliou-Kyriaki, Neue Siegel : **Wassiliou -Kyriaki, A.** Neue Siegel der 1. Hälfte des 9.Jh. aus Nordost-Bulgarien. Mit einem Appendix zu den Drugubiten.- *Numismatic and Sphragistic Contributions to History of the Western Black Sea Coast*, Varna, 12-13.09.2001 (in print).

Zacos, Seals, I : **Zacos, G.** *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I, Basel, 1972.

Zacos, Seals, II : **Zacos, G.** *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, Berne, 1984

ZRVI : *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*

CRITICAL SIGNS

| | |
|------|---------------------------------------------|
| AB | letters of uncertain reading |
| AB | part of letters |
| | illegible letters (exact number) |
| (αβ) | abbreviation |
| [αβ] | reconstruction of lost or illegible letters |

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------------------|
| c. | century | MK | Münzkabinetts des Kunsthistorische Museum Wien |
| ca. | circa | mm | millimeters |
| D. | diameter | no(s) | number(s) |
| DO | Dumbarton Oaks | Obv. | obverse |
| ed(s) | edited by, edition(s) | pl(s) | plate(s) |
| Fogg A. M. | Fogg Museum of Art (Cambridge, Mass.) | r. | right |
| g. | gram(s) | Rev. | reverse |
| IFEB | Institut Francais d'etudes Byzantins | sq. | square |
| l. | left | Suppl. | Supplement |
| m | meters | W. | weight |

1. Ἀβύδος

The city of Abydos, at the entrance of the Hellespont, has always been of great importance as a point of control of the straits. Because of this fact, there was a kommerkiaria in it from the VIIIth to the XIth century. The military governor of the fortress in the IXth century is paraphylax. At some point he acquires the office of kommerkiarios. Abydos belonged to the naval theme of Aigaion Pelagos and seems to have been the seat of tourmarchos.

From the earliest period Abydos was a suffragan bishopric of Kyzikos. It became a metropolitanate during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos and retained this rank until the Turkish conquest in the XIVth century (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 622; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, 73-74).

1.1. Νικήτας β'στράτορ, τουρμάρχης καὶ παραφύλαξ Ἀβύδος (mid. IXth century).

Kept in a private collection (N. Nikolov from the town of Razgrad provided it for documentation). It is of unknown provenance and in all probability originates from Southern Bulgaria (the southern regions of the Nova Zagora or Stara Zagora districts). D. 29-29.9 (28) 3 mm. The imprint on the obverse side is lighter and more shallow. The molybdo-bull has been perfectly preserved.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3). In the quarters: ΤΩ-ΘΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | Ρ'CTPA'T8 | ΠΜΑΡΧ'ΣΠΙΑΡ | ΦΥΛ'ΑΡΥΔ'

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικήτῃ β'στρά(τορι) τουρμάρχ(η) (καὶ)
παρ(α)φύλ(ακι) Ἀβύδ(ου)

The name of Nichetas features on several groups of seals with close datings and offices connected with Abydos:

- a) paraphylax of Abydos and kommerkiarios (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 40.16);
- b) hypatos and paraphylax of Abydos (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 40.33);
- c) imperial strator and paraphylax of Abydos (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 40.32);
- d) imperial strator, tourmarches and paraphylax of Abydos (see below).

Because of their close datings, offices connected with Abydos and an identical name, one can surmise that all seals belonged to one and the same person - Nichetas. In reality he took all possible offices in Abydos: not simultaneously, of course, but successively, i.e. a considerable period of his career was spent in this town.

1.2. Νικόλαος Ἀβύδος

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 14714. Find-spot - uncertain. D. 20-23 (19 ?) 5 mm. A partial and obtuse imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Two other copies imprinted with the same boulloterion are kept in the collections of: DO 58.106.3589 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 40.39); Zacos, III, no. 1149 (the latter is unpublished).

Obv. Metrical inscription of five lines, preceded by an ornament:

- ∴ - | CΦΡΑ | .ΙCΛΟΓ' | ..ΕΙ8C | Τ8ΝΙ. | - Λ8 -

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines, preceded by an ornament:

- ∴ - | ΕΚΤΗC | ΑΡΥΔ8C | ΠΕΝΙΧΡ' | ΓΡΑΦΕ | ΩC

Σφρα[γ]ίς λόγ(ους) [κλ]αίουσ(α) Νι[κ(ο)]λ(ά)ου
ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδους (καὶ) πενιχρ(οῦ) γραφ(ε)ως

The publishers of the Dumbarton Oaks copy hesitate in interpreting the text - whether Ἀβύδους connects this Nikolas with the town as a monk or a clergyman residing in it or it is simply a family name disclosing his descent from this town. Finally, they include it under the chapter of Abydos seals.

2. Ἀγχιάλου

The medieval city of Ἀγχιάλου was situated to the southwest of the present town of Pomorie between the salt-water lagoon and the large Bay of Burgas in the Paleokastro locality. Its importance was significant

regarding the Byzantine strategeia in the Balkan Peninsula and specifically the region of the Black Sea. It is no accident that Ἀγχιάλου took second place after the city of Adrianoupolis amongst the cities of the Hemimont province. Therefore the Byzantine government focused its attention on it during the VIth century when a fortress was built there.

Its significance increased considerably during the time of the barbarian invasions and especially after the establishment of the Bulgarian state. The city of Anchialos was also an important boundary city in the relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium. Many expeditions of the Byzantine army against Bulgaria started and finished in Anchialos. The city was included administratively and militarily into the Thrace theme in 679-680 and it was included within the boundaries of the Bulgarian state in 812. Byzantine domination was restored in 863 but not for a long time. During the so-called "commercial wars" of Tsar Simeon or soon after that (perhaps in 904) it was recaptured and permanently reentered the Bulgarian kingdom.

Similar to the other cities of the Black Sea region and the whole Eastern Bulgaria, Anchialos was destined to be seized by the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimisces in 971 but nothing in particular is known about its history after that until the second half of the XIth century, when this city acquired strategic importance equal to that of the VIth-VIIth century and related to new invasions of nomadic tribes.

A navy resided in Anchialos which had to maintain the connection between the Black Sea coast and the cities on the Danube reaches and to defend the western border of the empire, the river Danube, from the sudden attacks of the barbarians which were coming in their thousands.

In 1087 a Seljuk Turk called Siaous was nominated as duke of the city. A seal of the same person in his capacity of protonobelisimos has been found in Sozopol (see **Йорданов, И.** Новооткрит печат на протонобелисима Алексий Сиаус. - *ГНАМ* 9, 1993, 219-223). During his rule Anchialos and its surroundings became an important stronghold of the empire in the war against the Pechenegs and Cumans. Emperor Alexius I Komnenos (1081-1118) and his army have sojourned several times in the city of Anchialos.

The city maintained its strategic military and cultural role during the XIIth century, too. The city is one of the earliest Christian centres. As early as the IInd century it had a bishopric which was elevated to the rank of archbishopric in the VIIth century. The archbishop of Anchialos Nicholas was present at the Constantinople council of 879. After that date the name of Anchialos disappeared from the diocese lists and it was included again only in the late XIth century. This fact is due to its conquest by the Bulgarians and its inclusion in the ecclesiastical administration of Bulgaria.

A list of the bishops of Anchialos is presented by Stamoules (see **Stamoules** *Θρακικά* 14, 1940, 68-71). I have added the prelates known from their surviving seals:

1. Jacob, bishop of Anchialos, during the time of patriarch Tarasius (784-806).
2. Nicholas, a participant in the Constantinople council of 879.
3. Theodore or Theodosius, archbishop of Anchialos, according to his seal of the XIth century (see **Laurent, Corpus**, V.1, no. 854).
4. Nicephorus, archbishop and proedros of Anchialos (1070s-1090s).
5. Stephanos, archbishop of Anchialo between 1160-1170.
6. John, archbishop of Anchialos, participated in the synodal meeting of February 1197 (*PG*, 119, col. 888A; **Grumel, Regestes**, no. 1185).

One of these bishops was probably the addressee of the correspondence sealed with the molybdo bulls of different people and most of all bishops of Messembria (see here under no. 47.8); Drustur (see here under no. 23.10) etc.

Bibliography: **Laurent, Corpus**, V.1, 663-664; **Гюзелев, Анхиало, Несебър**, 356-363; **Gregoriou-Ioanidou**, p. 7; **Asdracha**, Thrace, 244-246; **Йорданов, Анхиало**, 46-48.

2.1 Βάρδας πρωτοπαπίας καὶ β'κουράτωρ Ἀγχιάλου (XIth century)

- a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17215. D. 25-26 (19) 2 mm. W. 8.06 g. A partial imprint, reused on another molybdo bull.
- b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 16685. D. 14-26 (19) 3.6 mm. Half of a good imprint also reused on another molybdo bull.
- c. In a private collection. It has been probably found in Preslav. An excellent imprint and a well preserved specimen. D. 26-28 mm.
- d. Collection V. Panteleev, Varna. It has been probably found in Preslav. An excellent imprint and a well-preserved specimen. This allows some corrections in the previous reading of the monogram. D. 21-25 (19) 3 mm. W. 6.10 g.

All four specimens are from the same boulloterion.
Ed. a-b: **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 197-198; c-d: Unpublished.
No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ΤΩ-ΘΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- a) . . . AP | . . . Α'ΠΑΠ | . . . R'K8PA | ΤΟΡΙΑΧΕ | ΛΟV
 - b) . . . AP | . . . ΠΑΠ | . . . K8PA | . . . AXE | . . V
 - c) +RAP | ΔΑΑ'ΠΑΠ | ASR'K8PA | ΤΟΡΙΑΧΕ | ΛΟV
 - d) +RAP | ΔΑΑ'ΠΑΠ | ASR'K8PA | . ΟΡΙΑΧ. | ΛΟV
- + Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βάρδα (πρωτο)παπ(ί)α (καὶ)
β'κουράτωρ Ἀχελου

The new seal corrected the deciphering of the homonym which has not been preserved on the previous specimens.

In his review W. Seibt has assumed that the toponym AXEΛOY actually means Ἀχελῷος, which had been situated near to the town of Nikopolis on the Mesta River (see *TIB*, 3, S.101) but this is mere guesswork. Lots of cases are known when Ἀγχιάλου is inscribed in the same way (see *TIB*, 6, S.175; **Laurent, Corpus**, V, 1, p. 663).

2.2 Νικηφόρος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου (1070s-1090s)

A. ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 28140. Find-spot - Sozopol. D. 19-24 (21) 2.5 mm. The imprint is partial. The last line of the text has remained outside the seal.

Ed. **Йорданов, Анхиало**, 37-38.

Parallels: There is another copy in the DO collection (DO 58.106.1389) imprinted with the same couple of dies (see **Laurent, Corpus**, V.3, no. 1823; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, 1, no. 73.3).

Obv. St Michael standing *en face* and holding a labarum (r. hand) and a globe (l. hand).

Inscription in two columns: M-I || X-A .

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

- + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ. | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ. | . . . ΑΡΧ.ΕΠ. | CΚΟΠΟCΑΓΧΙΑ | . . . ΩΤ8Α. | . . .
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ[ω] Νικηφόρ[ει] τῷ] ἀρχ[ι]επ[ί]σκοπος Ἀγχιά[λου] τῷ
τοῦ Ἀ[ντιοχείας]

Some discrepancies crop up in the commentaries on the person of this bishop of Anchialos.

The initial publication (**Laurent, Corpus**, V.3, no. 1823) accepted that the archbishop of Anchialos Nicephorus was a nephew of the Antiochean patriarch having the same name. The latter occupied the patriarchal throne after 1079/1080. By using the phrase ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, the archbishop of Anchialos proclaimed himself as a relative of a prelate who occupied a prominent place in the church hierarchy.

In the next (last for the time being) publication of Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 73.3, some corrections are introduced in the reading of the first four letters of the fourth line which I have accepted as well, but an attempt is also made to correct the commentary of the text. The editors surmise that Nicephorus was not a nephew but a protégé not of the patriarch of Antioch but of one of bishoprics of Antioch situated in Kareia, Poisidia or Isauria. This assumption of the authors is based on the absence of the epithet μέγας in front of the toponym Ἀντιοχείας.

This line of thought betrays some contradiction. An archbishop of a autocephalous archbishopric at that would hardly advertise the fact that he was the protégé of the bishop of one of the many Antiochs. Evidently we should return to the first interpretation, all the more since, as it will become clear below, it does not contradict the whole impression provided by the groups of seals of Nicephorus of Anchialos.

B. πρόεδρος Ἀγχιάλου

- a. National Museum of History, Sofia. Placed in the exposition. I have come across some contradiction in the information about its discovery. The initial publication pointed out that the copy originated in the ruins of the old city of Pernik (see **Laurent, Corpus**, V.3, 165-166. The information of the author was provided by J. Jouroukova). The same source

of information told me that this is not true. The molybdo-bull belonged to a private person and the find-spot was unknown. D. 15.5-17 (13) 2 mm. A good imprint and a well preserved specimen.

b. Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 13505. Found in the region of Pomorie. D. 12-14 (13) 2 mm. The imprint is comparatively complete in spite of the small seal. The molybdo-bull is well-preserved.

Both specimens have been imprinted with an identical boulloterion.

Ed. a: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.3, no. 1824; b: **Йорданов**, *Анхиало*, 37-38.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

a) + | ΑΓΧΙΑΛ' | Α'ΕΔΡΟΝ | ΩΠΡΟΤ . | ΣΤΑΤ'

b) + | ΑΛ' | . ΕΔΡΟΝ | . ΠΡΟΤΟ | .ΤΑΤ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

a) ΣΚΕΠ' | ΜΙCΟΝΝΙ | . ΗΦΟΡ' | ΘΥΤ'

b) ΣΚΕΠ' | ΜΙCΟΝΝΙ | ΚΗΦΟΡ' | ΘΥΤ'

Ἀγχιάλ(ου) (πρό)εδρον ὦ προτόστατ(α)

σκεπ(οις) Μιχ(αήλ) Νικηφόρ(ον) θύτ(ην)

Before commenting on the information about these two groups of seals, I shall add the data of a representative of a third group:

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a sceptre (r. hand) and a globe (l. hand).

Inscription in two columns: Μ-Ι || Χ-Α.

Rev. + | ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟ | ΡΟΤΟΑΡ | ΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟ | ΠΟCΑΓΧΙ| ΑΛΟΝ

Kept in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO 58.106.5236) (see: **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 73.2).

What is common to these three groups of seals?

a) that an identical archbishopric is referred to - Anchialos;

b) that the name of the archbishop is identical - Nicephorus;

c) that in the three cases the patron of Nicephorus is St. Michael (in the second group the effigy of the St. Michael is indeed missing but the invocation for protection is directed to him).

d) that there is a chronological continuity between the groups: earliest is the one with the bust of St. Michael, followed by the one in which the figure of St. Michael is full-length and kinship with the Antiochean patriarch is emphasized, while last is the group with the metrical text.

The conclusion to be made from the above remarks is that the three groups of seals belong to one and the same archbishop of Anchialos. They witness the fact that Nicephorus was prelate of Anchialos for a longer period of time.

The fact that only a single group of seals proclaimed his kinship to the Antiochean patriarch means that during the time of the other two, this high-ranking relative of his did not occupy the Antiochean seat. It is known that Nicephorus Mauros held the patriarchal throne of Antioch and the whole East after 1079/1080, but the duration of his patriarchal office remains a mystery. But there is evidence that in 1091 the titular was another person (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V. 2, no. 1525; **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 57; *Seyrig*, no. 235).

The conclusion which can be made from the above argument is that the three groups of seals of the archbishop of Anchialos could be arranged according to the following chronology: first group - before 1080; second - after 1080 but before 1091; the third group with a metrical text - after 1091.

The information of the seals presented confirm that Nicephorus was archbishop of Anchialos for a considerable length of time and that his molybdo-bulls found in Constantinople, Sozopol, Anchialos and elsewhere illustrate his various contacts.

2.3 Στέφανος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου (XIIth century)

In a private collection (Al. Peikov from Veliko Turnovo). Find-spot not precisely known, found somewhere between Aitos and Bourgas. D. 24-24.5 mm. Excellent well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Michael standing *en face*, holding a labarum (r. hand) and a globe (l. hand). No titles.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΑΡΧΙ. | ΠΙCΚΟΠΟ | ΑΓΧΙΑΛΟΝ| .ΤΕΦΑ.. | .. ΕΠ.

+Ἀρχι[ε]πισκόπο Ἀγχιάλου [Σ]τεφάν[ου] σκ[ε]π[ε]

An archbishop of the city by the same name participated in a meeting of the synod in 1166 and signed several of its documents (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1059). The name of this same archbishop also appears among the participants in another synod meeting on January 30, 1170 (see **Petit**, *Documents*, 480.16, 486.4, 489.7; **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1109).

The iconography of the seal and its text date it at the earliest to the second half of the XIth century. But we cannot be certain whether the owner of the seal is identical with archbishop Stephanos (1166-1170).

3. Ἀδριανούπολεως

This was the main city of the Macedonia theme established in the period between 789 and 802, whose main task was to defend the capital from the attacks of the Bulgarians. A turma of the theme also resided there. The role of the city was strategic for Bulgarian-Byzantine relations throughout the Middle Ages. During the first quarter of the IXth century a commerciaría was established in Adrianoupolis with regard to the new frontier between Bulgaria and Byzantium and their trade contacts.

According to the data of the Escorial Tactic, in 975 Adrianoupolis became the main city of a dukedom which connected the themes of Thrace and Macedonia militarily, and thus favoured the expansive policy of the Empire. Probably this was the reason because of which the iconographical subject of almost all seals which belonged to the rulers of the city was connected with St. George.

During the first half of the XIth century, Adrianoupolis maintained its strategic position as a dukedom and later as a katepanate. Its importance increased substantially after the mass invasions of the new nomadic tribes. During a certain period (1060s-1070s), the city of Mesembria joined it, which can be seen on the seals below.

The city of Adrianoupolis was again the centre of a dukedom around the late XIth century in connection with the new administrative reorganisation implemented by Alexius I Komnenos. The city maintained its significant military and administrative role during the XIIth century.

Bibliography: **Скабеланович**, *Виз. государство*, 224-225; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 348, 349, 354-355; **Коледапов**, *Македонија*, 52-69; **Gregoriou-Ioanidou**, 68, 70, 77; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 206-207; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, 123-124.

The town was an episcopal center already at the time of Constantine I the Great and is mentioned by the ecclesiastical organization in the province Hemimont from the IVth century. It is attested in almost all references as an increase was observed in the number of episcopal centers subordinate to it.

Bibliography: **Laurent**, *Synodicon*, 1-34; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, 543-544; **Asdracha**, *Rhodopes*, 137-148, 190-193; **Asdracha**, *Thrace*, 258-259, 274-277.

3.1 Χριστοφόρος ὑπάτος καὶ κουμμερκιάριος Ἀδριανουπόλεως (822-823)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 25915. Found in the medieval stronghold near the village of Matochina, district of Svilengrad (Boukelon). D. 26.8-28.9 mm; field over 27 mm; thickness 3 mm. The blank is too small for die and therefore the imprint is incomplete. Some portions of the representation and inscription are out of the blank. A very well preserved specimen.

Ed. **Йорданов-Аладжов**, *Хасково*, I, № 8.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 283. Republished by: **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 44.5.

Obv. Busts of two emperors of equal height (Michael II with rounded beard on l. and Theophilos beardless on r.) both wearing crowns surmounted with a cross and a chlamys; a cross in the field between them, and the sign of indiction A beneath.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΧΡ.. | ΤΟΦΟΡ'..| SKOMMEP. |ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ| ΠΟΛΕΟ

+ Χρ[ισ]τοφόρ(ου) [ὑ]π(άτου)] (καὶ) κομμερ[κ(ιάριου)] Ἀδριανο(υ)πόλεο(ς)

This seal gives important information for Bulgarian-Byzantine relations during the first half of the IXth century. It is the earliest seal of the commerciaría in Adrianoupolis that attests the official determination of the boundaries between Bulgaria and Byzantium after the signing of the peace treaty

in 815. The seal of Λέων διοικητής καὶ κουμμερκιάριος Ἀδριανουπόλεως which has been dated by its publishers to 838-839, reveals the later development of the kommerciaria of Adrianoupolis (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 44.6).

3.2 Θεοδωροκάνος πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως (1000-1006)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17601. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 29-33 (25) 3.5 mm, W. 22.70 g. Incomplete imprint. Because of the loosing of the dies and the boulloterion, there is a space of about 5 mm between the image and the text. The imprint itself has been perfectly preserved.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 194

Parallels: Auction, Gorny&Mosch, no. 118, 14-15.X.2002, no. 2589. Struck in a different boulloterion or a replaced die.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).

Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Γ- Ε || Ο-Ρ-ΓΙ-Ο'.

A circular inscription along the dotted border: +Κ.ΡΟΗΘΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

. ΘΕΟ | .ΟΡΟΚΑΝ' | .ΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ | ΚΕΔΟΝΞΑ | ΔΡΙΑΝΟΠ | ΟΛΙΣ

[+]Θεο[δ]οροκάν(ος) [π]ατρίκιος κὲ δοῦξ Ἀδριανο(υ)πόλ(ι)ς

We would like to add the following new data:

1. Three seals - one of them is found in Syria (see Chapot, V. *Antiquites de Syrie*. Plombs byzantines, *REA*, 6, 1904, p. 33); a second, unpublished one from the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 2093 and a third one is unpublished from MK Berlin no. 975 (1922) - are inscribed with the following texts:

Obv. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩΘΕΟΔ | ΡΟΚΑΝΩ | Α'CΠΑΘΑΡ'

Rev. ΕΠΙΤ8 | ΧΤΡΙΚΑ | ΙΝ8CΤΡ | .ΤΗΓΩΤ8 | ΑΡΤ. |

= + Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοδ(ω)ροκάν(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθαρι(ί)ω ἐπὶ τοῦ χρ(υσο)τρικλίνου (καὶ) στρ[α]τηγῷ τοῦ Ἀρτ[ζε]

2. In the collection of Athens Numismatic Museum a specimen is preserved inscribed as following (see Konstantopoulos, no. 594):

Obv. + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ | ΚΑΝ'Α'CΠ | ΑΘΑΡ'

Rev. | ΕΠΙΤ8 | ΧΤΡΙΚΑ. | .SAPXIG. | ΤΗΤΗCΑ | ΝΑΤΟΛ'

= + Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοδ(ω)ροκάν(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθαρί(ω) ἐπὶ τοῦ χρ(υσο)τρικλ[ίνου] (καὶ) ἀρχηγ[έ]τη τῆς Ἀνατολ[ῆς]

3. A marginal note which appears in an Armenian gospel book informs us that it was written in 1006-1007 in the Macedonia theme and particularly in the city of Adrianoupolis by order of Ἰωάννης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρόξιμος to the duke of Τ'οτ'οράκαν (see Stoimenov, D. *Quand le patriarche Theodorokanos a-t-il été duc d'Adrinople.* - *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2, 1990, 107-111).

How can this new information be useful for the identification of the owner of the seal from Preslav together with the previous ones?

The two groups of seals are dated generally to the late Xth century or to the early XIth century. The similarity between them gives us reason to suggest that the owner was one and the same person.

The first group of seals presents their owner as strategos of Ἀρτζε. The name of this strategia is mentioned only in the Escorial Tactic and it concerns the present village of Artzi (or Ardi) located 55 km from the city of Theodosiupolis. The Byzantine authorities have dominated it for a short period between 975 and 979 and again after 1000, but we do not know if it was still a strategia (see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 363)

The second group of seals presents the owner already as ἀρχιγέτης τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. The office of ἀρχιγέτης is a departure point for discussion. Some researchers have assumed that it concerns the hoplitarchos, i.e. the head of the infantry during a military campaign or particular military operations, while others have explained it as a technical term which just means a commander (see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 353). It is clear that this inscription is not just a technical term but concerns a concrete person related to the East. And probably this person was the commander of the eastern infantry.

If the owner of these two groups of seals is assumed to be our Theodorokanos, then they probably reflect an earlier stage of his career when he served in the East. Initially he was a strategos of Ἀρτζε in Georgia and after that he commanded the eastern infantry. Finally he was awarded the

higher title and rank of patrician and he was transferred to the western military line. Then he became duke of Adrianoupolis and our seal in question dates just to this time. It is difficult to define any exact dating. There are two possibilities. The first one is that the seal dates from the period of 975-979. The second one suggests that it was used just before the time when its owner took part in the conquest of the Bulgarian lands (after 1000).

The two groups of seals give further information about this particular commander who has suddenly appeared on the historical scene.

The marginal note from 1006-1007 confirms the text of the seal from Preslav. The proximos of the duke Theodorokanos ordered the gospel in 1006-1007 and if this Theodorokanos was the person in question whose correspondence had been received in Preslav, then his service as a duke of Adrianoupolis finished about 1006-1007.

3.3 Θεοφύλακτος ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, βέστης καὶ δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως (Xth-XIth centuries)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, probably Preslav. D. 17-17.5 mm. Blank too small for die and therefore the imprint is incomplete.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 44.1.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of five lines and followed by ornament:

..... | .ΑΚ'ΑΝΘ. | Π'ΠΑΤ'ΡΕC | Τ'ΣΔ8ΞΑΔ | ΠΙΑΝ8Π'

[+Θεοφύλ]ακ(τος) ἀνθ[ύ](ατος) πατ(ρίκιος) βέστ(ης) (καὶ) δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπ(όλεως)

Probably Theophylaktos was a predecessor of Theodorochanos.

3.4 Νικόλαος μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (970s)

Private possession of a Veliko Turnovo collector (Al. Peykov). A cast of the original was sent to me by my colleague K. Dochev. Later I examined the original in the collection of St. Bilik from Sofia. According to its first owner, Mr. Peykov, the molybdo bull originated in Silistra. D. 25-26 (18) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Entire fields of the dies have not appeared.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: || Κ-Ο- Α'

Rev. Inscription of five lines and followed by ornament:

+ΝΙΚΟ | Α'ΜΙΤΡΟ | ΠΟΛ'Α.. | ΙΑΝ. | ΠΟ.

+ Νικόλ(αος) μιτροπολ(ίτης) Ἀ[δρ]ιαν[ου]πό[λεως]

In the collection of IFEB, no. 507, another molybdo bull is kept which has the same iconographic subject and text but the letters in it are arranged otherwise:

Rev. + ΝΙ | ΚΟΛΑΜΙ | .ΡΟΠΟΛ' | ΑΔΡΙΑΝ | 8ΠΟΛ' (see Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 717).

Its editor supposes that he is the same bishop of Adrianopolis present at the passing away of John Tzimiskes who died on 11 January 976 r.: "He called the proedros of Adrianopolis Nicholas, a venerable and holy man, and revealed to him the sins of his life" (see Лев Диакон, c. 94; the discussion about the exact date of death of John I Tzimiskes is also presented there).

This is the same Nicholas from the Chrysoverg family who later occupied the patriarchal throne between 979 and 991.

The discovery of the molybdo bull in Silistra point to correspondence being received here. To whom was it addressed? It's not impossible that Nicholas was a confessor of the emperor and exchanged correspondence with him when the latter, heading the Byzantine army, conquered Dristra. This explanation is quite probable if one takes into account the piety of John I Tzimiskes after his enthronement.

3.5 Γρηγόριος or Πανθεριος μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (XIth century)

In private possession (coll. of Zhelyazko Dimov, Burgas). I received a plaster impression of this seal from my colleague Ivan Karayotov. Find-spot: district of Elhovo (probably the village of Melnitza). D. 18-21 (over 22 ?) mm. Weakly imprinted which makes its reading difficult. The completion of the homonym is somewhat uncertain. Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitza, no. 14. No parallels known.

Obv. In the centre of the image one can see part of a standing figure of the Virgin on a subpedaneum holding before her a medaillon with a likeness of Child Christ. On both sides, there are partial figures of two standing saints (St. Peter and Paul) who are reaching out toward her hands. At the left of the Virgin one sees the letter Ε perhaps from the name of St. Peter.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΘΚ.. | ΟΗΘ'Ε... | ΟΡΙΩΜΗΤΡ. | ΛΙΤΗΑΔ. | ..ΝΟΝΠ. | . ΕΩC

[+]Θ(εοτό)κ[ε β]οήθ(ει) Γ[ρηγ]ορίω or Π[ανθ]ερίω μητρ[οπο]λίτη Ἀδ[ρια]νουπ[όλ]εως

If the reading of the first name as Γ[ρηγ]ορίω is correct, such an archiereus of Adranopolis is unknown from the narrative sources. If we read Π[ανθ]ερίω, the metropolitan could be the one attested in March 1072 (see **Oikonomides**, Decret synodal, 57, n. 22; 60, 66).

3.6 Seals of a metropolitan of Adrianopolis ? (XIth century)

In private possession (coll. of Zhelyazko Dimov, Burgas). My colleague Ivan Karayotov sent me a plaster copy of the same seal. Find-spot: district of Elhovo (village of Melnitza). D. 19-20 (16) ? mm.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitza, no. 15.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ.

Rev. In the field above is a representation of the bust of Christ. Beneath it there are two standing saints, St. Paul on the left and St. Peter on the right. They are half-turned toward the bust of Christ above. Their hands are turned toward him.

Vertical inscription between them: Π-A-V-Λ- || Π-Ε-Τ-Ρ-

This essentially anonymous seal bears the same iconographic subject as the seals of Gregory/Pantherios, Eusthathios and Nicephorus, metropolitans of Adrianopolis. Since the seal was recovered together with that of Gregory not far from Adrianopolis, it is possible to assume that it was affixed to correspondence from the metropolitan during that period.

3.7 Seals of a metropolitan of Adrianopolis ? (XIth century)

In private possession (coll. of Ivan Simeonov, Burgas). A plaster impression of this seal was given to me some twenty years ago by my colleague Kamen Dimitrov. Its find-spot was likely the same as the previous specimen. D. 17-18 mm.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitza, no. 16.

No parallels known.

Obv. Standing figure of the Virgin, with a nimbus, maphorion and hymation, *en face*. It is impossible to discern the details of the representation and the inscription with an epithet.

Rev. In the field above probably the bust of Christ. Beneath it two standing saints (St. Paul and St. Peter). They are turned half-way toward Christ represented above. Their hands are turned toward him.

It cannot be excluded that this anonymous seal was also affixed to correspondence of the metropolitan of Adrianopolis.

3.8 Εὐστάθιος μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως (XIIth century)

In the private possession of a collector in Novi Pazar. It was offered for sale to the Historical Museum of Shoumen where it was documented. It was later returned to the owner because he did not agree to the purchase price offered. D 42-43 (32) 3 mm. A superbly preserved seal.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Peter (l.) and St. Paul (r.) standing in profile; St. Peter with head raised toward a small bust of

Christ in upper field; St. Peter holding a long cross (r. hand) and extending a l. arm toward Christ, a gesture repeated by St. Paul, who holds a book (l. hand). Two vertical inscriptions between them:

Θ-Π-Ε-Τ-Ρ-Ο-С || Θ-Π-A-V-Λ-O-C= 'Ο ἅγιος Πέτρος || ἅγιος Παῦλος

Rev. Inscription of six lines. There is a six-pointed star engraved in the field below the inscription:

ΕΥΤΑΘΙ | ΟΝΠΙΑΝΑΓΝΕ | ΚΑΙΜΝΥΤΑΙΛΟΓ8 | ΤΗCΑΔΡΙΑΝ8 | ΤΟΝΘΥΤΗΝCΚΕ | ΠΟΙCΜΕ

Εὐστάθιον, Πανάγνε, καὶ μυσται Λόγου τῆς Ἀδριανου τὸν θύτην, σκέποις, με

The seal is dated to the XIIth century. The synodic list of the metropolis of Adrianopolis indicates three metropolitans (nos 20-22), one of whom is Εὐστάθιος. They are not known from other sources. According to Laurent, Eustathios took the throne in the last quarter of the XIIth century (see **Laurent**, Synodikon, 8-9, 21).

3A.9 Συμεὼν βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας (the 70s of the XIth century)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 24593. D. 18-19 (18 ?) 3 mm. W. 6.5 g. A good but incomplete imprint.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 29630. D. 10-18 (18 ?) 3 mm. W. 6.5 g. Half of an imprint which was sometimes good.

Both specimens were imprinted with the same boulloterion.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 195-196.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Nicholas standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding the Gospels (l. hand).

Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-ΠΙ-O-C || N-I-KO-A-A-O'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a) . ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .VMΕΩNRΕ | ..APX'SKATΕ | .ΑΝΑΔΡΙΑΝ8 | .ΟΛΕOSMΕ | .HMRPIA

b) . . . R'Θ' | ΩNRΕ | KATΕ | ΡΙΑΝ8 | SMΕ | ΡΙΑ

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Σ]υμεὼν βε[στ]άρχ(η) (καὶ) κατε[π]άν(ω)

Ἀδριανου[π]όλεο(ς) (καὶ) Με[σ]ημβρία(ς)

An analysis of this seal is done with the commentary of Mesembria.

4. Αἰγαῖον πελάγους

This seaside theme was established in the first half of the IXth century. It was reported for the first time in the Tactic of Uspenski, which indicated its titular as δρουγγάριος τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, U 53.18). The other tactics (including the Escorial one) also mentioned it but they showed its titular as στρατηγὸς τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους.

Bibliography: **Pertusi**, *De tem.*, 154-155; **Ahrweiler**, *Le Mer*, p. 75; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 46-47, 353, 358; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, no. 40.

4.1 Φίλιππος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους (Xth century)

Plaster cast from the collection of Prof. T. Gerassimov made in 1956 in Burgas. Find-spot of the original: probably the region of Burgas. The current place where the original is preserved is unknown. Half of a whole specimen. D. 17-28 mm.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Along dotted border circular inscription beginning on l.:

.....ΘΕΙ.....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..ΙΛΙΠ | ...CΠA | ..CTPA | ..T8ΕΓ | .. ΛΑΓ'

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῷ σῷ δοῦ(λῳ) Φι]λίπ(π)[ῳ β'(πρωτο)]σπα[θ(αρίῳ)

(καὶ)] στρα[τ(η)γ(ῳ)] τοῦ Εγ(αίου) [πε]λάγ(ους)

The seal has been generally dated to the Xth century and this fact, as well as its discovery in the region of Burgas, attests that there was some movement of units from this theme to the cities in the Black Sea region. This process accorded with the naval character of the theme.

5. Ἀῖνιος

Ainos, modern Enez in Turkish Thrace on the right bank of the Maritsa estuary was originally a suffragant bishopric of Traianoupolis. It is mentioned in the ekthesis of Pseudo-Epiphanius (dated to the IVth century) as an archbishopric (in 640) and in 1032 it was already a metropolitanate whose rank it kept until the end of the empire and also during the Ottoman period (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, 614-615; **Asdracha**, Thrace, 242-243).

5.1 Ἀνδρόνικος Ἀῖνιος (XIth-XIIth centuries)

Museum of History, Pernik, no. 939. Found during the excavations of the medieval city. D. 19-21 (15-16) 2.6 mm.

Well centered but not sharp specimen.

Ed. **Юркова**, Перник, с. 129, табл. IV.3.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands raised before her. Sigla: $\bar{M} || \bar{\Theta}$

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines:

...ΔΡ | ΝΙΚΩΔΕ | ΠΟΙΝΑΤΟ. | Τ8ΑΙΝ'С | ΠΟΙC
[+ Ἀνδρ[ο]νίκω Δέ[σ]ποινα τὸ[ν] τοῦ Ἀῖν(ου) σ[κ(έ)]ποις

Andronikos is an unknown prelate of Ainos.

6. Ἀντιοχείας

Antiocheia was an ancient and medieval city. After being recaptured by Byzantium on October 28, 969, it became the main city of a dukedom. The duke of Antioch had a high rank and only the domestikos of the schools was higher than him. The duke commanded elite units of the eastern provinces.

Bibliography: **Laurent**, *Gouverneurs d'Antioch*, 221-254; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 170-182 about the significance of this dukedom and list of its titulars.

6.1 Μιχαήλ Ἰασίτης μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας (?-1047)

Museum of History, Yambol, no. 6023. Found near the village of Melnitza in the Gradishteto locality by Dimitar Neychev from Elhovo in 1992. D. 29-34 mm.

A fragment having a triangular shape.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitza, no. 39.

Parallels: **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 40; **Cheyne**, *J.-Cl. Les ducs d'Antioche sous Michael IV et Constantin IX, Novum Millenium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December 1999*, Ashgate, 2001, 53-63.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of eight lines:

..ΕΡ. | ..CΩΔ. | ...ΑΗΛ | ...CΤΡΩ | ...CΤΡΩ | ..8Κ'ΑΝΤ | ..HACT. | ..ACITH
[+ Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)[θ(ει) τῶ] σῶ δ(ούλ(ω) Μιχαήλ [μαγ(ί)]στρω [(καὶ) δοῦκ(ι) Ἀντ(ι)[οχ]ήας
τ[ῶ] Ἰασίτη

Due to the fragmentary character of the specimen, the complete text cannot be read. This chiefly concerns one or more toponyms. The reading given above is rather influenced by the parallel specimen in the collection of Zacos. The same collection also contains another seal similar to the one presented (see **Zacos**, III, no. 1470):

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Around the representation there is a circular inscription with invocation.

Rev.|ΜΑΓΙCΤ...|...Τ'8Δ...|..CHCΔV...|OCTΩHΑ|CIT'

= [+ Μιχαήλ] μαγίστ[ρω βέσ]τ(η) (καὶ) δ[οῦκ(ι) πά]σης Δύ[σε]ος τῶ Ἰασίτ(η)

The IFEB collection has preserved a specimen with the following description:

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios as above. Remains of a vertical inscription:....|T-PI-Ω-C

Rev. MIX...|CΠΑΘΑ...|ΔΔSCTP...|THΓ'ΤΟΗ|ACHT'

It could be supposed that all three groups of seals belonged to the same person.

Who was Michael Iasites? His name is reported several times by Skylitzes. Information concerning him can also be found in the chronicle of Aristakes Lastivertzes which has reported someone Ἰασίτης as a katepanos of Ἰβερίας in 1037 (see **Skylitzes**, 402.7).

After conquering the capital of the Armenian Bagratidians in 1045, Μιχαήλ βέστη τῶ Ἰασίτη was appointed duke of the city (see **Skylitzes**, 435.1). The name of the same person had surfaced again related to the invasion by the Amir Dvin Abdul Sevar called Aplesphares by the Byzantines but then Michael Iasites was already βεστάρχης (see **Skylitzes**, 437.37).

The latest report on Iasites locates him in the Balkans and it is connected with the rebellion headed by Leon Tornicius in 1047. After the latter was repulsed and driven from the capital Constantinople, he returned to Arkadioupolis and set up his camp there. He soon laid siege unsuccessfully to Redesto, and returned again to Arkadioupolis. "As soon as the troops of the east had crossed into Thrace from Chrysopolis and Abydos the Emperor sent them into action against the apostates with the magistros Michael Iasites (Μιχαήλ μάγιστρον τὸν Ἰασίτην) in command. He concentrated his forces in one body and encamped near the apostates, but did not let battle commence; he treated the prisoners with kindness and discreetly sent a letter to [the apostates] announcing an amnesty of misdeeds and generous distribution of benefits" (see **Skylitzes**, 441.61-69). As a result of this far-sighted policy of Michael Iasites, which continued during the winter of 1047 and 1048, the followers of Leon Tornicius gradually abandoned his camp and defected to the side of the emperor. This is how that rebellion was finally suppressed.

If we assume that the seals presented above belonged to the same person, then their texts supplement our knowledge about this commander.

In the seal from IFEB, he is a spatharokandidatos and strategos. Obviously, these were his positions before 1045.

But how can we comment on his office reflected on the specimens from the stronghold near the village of Melnitza and of the collection of Zacos, III? According to the publisher of the specimen, this was the position of Michael Iasites after the crushing of the rebellion of Leon Tornicius. This assumption would appear acceptable but how then can we explain that his correspondence was received in the stronghold of Melnitza in his capacity as a duke of Antioch? It is possible that Skylitzes had in mind the position of Michael Iasites as a duke of Antioch when he mentioned "the troops of the east". As was written above, these elite units from the eastern provinces were under the command of the duke of Antioch. It could be assumed that Michael Iasites arrived in the Balkans with that appointment and in that capacity wrote to the commander of the garrison in the stronghold near the village of Melnitza.

The third group of seals, if they indeed do relate to him, reflects best his position during the period of the Tornikios rebellion. He had been put in charge of all the armed forces of the Empire for a concrete military campaign, i.e. δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως.

Of course, it is possible that he was appointed duke of Antioch, a prominent position in the empire, after the events in the Balkans and that he wrote to an acquaintance or relative who was in the garrison stationed in the stronghold near the village of Melnitza.

7. Ἀνατολῆς

From the administrative point of view, the term Ἀνατολῆς was used until the Xth century to indicate the territories that had previously belonged to the *praefectura pretorio per Orientem*, i.e. themes of Asia Minor together with those of Thrace and Macedonia or the territories situated to the east of Constantinople, that is Asia Minor. In the Xth century, the army command of the Orient was separated from that of the West (that is Europe, see here). According to the seals of the Xth and XIth century, the entity called Ἀνατολῆς comprised only military commands (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, p. 172).

7.1 Ἰωάννης σεβαστός καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως (first half of the XIIth century)

In private possession. It was offered for purchase to the Museum of Archaeology in Bourgas and my colleague Karayotov sent me a cast. It was found in the vicinity of the village of Rouen, region of Bourgas. D. 38-40 (30) ? mm. A magnificent imprint. Its upper part was holed and it was probably worn as an icon.

Unpublished.

Parallels: In the collections of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.3227 and 55.1.2423) and the Istanbul Museum there are copies of the same reverse with the same text but with another arrangement of the letters (see **Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 942).

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Inscription in two columns Θ-Δ-Η-ΜΗ || Τ-ΡΙ-ΟC

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

ἸΩCΕ | ΡΑΤΟCΚΑΙ | ΜΕΓΑCΔΟΜΕ | ΤΙΚΟCΠΑCΗC | ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗC | ΚΑΙΔΥCΕ | ΩC
Ἰω(άννης) σεβαστός καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως

The publisher of the parallels specified above, V. Laurent, identifies the owner of the seal with Ἰωάννης Ἀξοῦχος who was mentioned in this capacity by various narrative sources.

He was Turkish by birth and was captured during the takeover of Nikaea by Bohemund of Tarant on June 19th, 1097, after which he was sent to Alexius I Komnenos. Being of the same age as the heir John II Komnenos, he enjoyed his protection and they became friends. In 1118 he was introduced to the rank of the sebastos and appointed as a grand domestikos. His situation in the palace was so high that the members of the emperor's family never hesitated to descend from their horses and to render homage when meeting him.

But according to the words of Choniates, this military officer had a meek heart full of good deeds and he was loved by everybody. In 1119 he had a brilliant opportunity to prove his humanity. When Anna Komnena was involved in a plot to bring down her brother, the grand domestikos who had received from the emperor all prerogatives to conduct the investigation, remembered the good which the cesaressa bestowed on him.

He died between 1151 and 1154 (for excerpted information about his life see **Guilland, Recherches**, I, 407-408; **Gautier, Italikos**, nos. 8, 41-44).

7.2 Ἰωάννης σεβαστός καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς (first half of the XIIth century)

In private possession. A photo of it was sent to me by my colleague Valeri Yotov from the Museum of History in Dobrich on September 17th, 1996. According to him, the original was unusual and as if made from a white metal (argyrobull?). It was offered for purchase but a deal was never struck. Even if it is a copy of an original seal, it copies one unknown.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. A full-length figure of a saint without a nimbus or a ruler, caesar with ruler's insignia (he has a diadem or caesar's crown on his head and he is dressed in a divitission which is girded with a loros). In his r. hand he holds a globus cruciger and supports his l. hand on a long labarum. An inscription on the left has not survived but the one on the right is in vertical lines: ΘΕ-ΟΔ-ΡΟC-C. If the figure belonged to a saint, the left inscription would have been Ο-Α-Γ-Ι-Ο-С.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ἸΩ. | ..ΑΓΟCΚΑ. | ΜΕΓΑCΔΟΜΕ | CΓΚΟCΓΑCС | Α.ΑΤΟΑ. | ..ΟΝ
[+] Ἰω(άννης) [σεβ]αστός κα[ὶ] μέγας δομέστ(ι)κος πάσ(η)ς Ἀ[ν]ατολ[ικ]ῶν

The inscription and the text are unusual. Often the letter Γ seems to substitute Τ, sometimes Π and perhaps Τ. The unusual image on the reverse left aside, I would accept that this is a seal of an ordinary sebastos and grand domestikos of the East whose seal was made in a provincial studio and perhaps refers to the one represented above.

7.3 Ἀδράλεστος πατρίκιος, δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (Xth century)

In a private collection (Sofia). Of unknown provenance but probably originates from northeastern Bulgaria. D. 23-23.5 mm. A good imprint and a well-preserved molybdobull.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. The field is divided by four diameters into eight equal parts decorated with dots. On the circumference two letters are inscribed in each part, forming the following inscription: ΚΕ-ΡΟ-ΗΘ-ΕΙ-ΤΩ-СΩ-Δ8-ΛΩ. This decoration could be a combination of two crosses, a regular Greek cross and a Saint Andrew's cross.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΑΔ ΡΑ. | ΠΑΤΡΙΚ' S | ΔΟΜΕCΤ' T' | ΕΞ8ΡΙΤ' | SANATO | Λ'
+ Κύριε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀδρα[λ(έστῳ)] πατρικ(ίῳ) (καὶ) δομεστ(ίκῳ) τ(ῶν)
ἐξκουβίτων (καὶ) Ἀνατολῆς

The seal is generally dated according to its iconography (quite similar to the seals of Symeon magistros and logothetos tou dromou, see **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 128-129) and text to the last quarter of the Xth century.

The owner of the seal is Ἀδράλεστος δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων, i.e. commander of a tagma corpus which was second in importance. In the Escorial Tactic (975), the excubites, like the corpus of the schools, are divided not in two but three parts: the first under the command of δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (**Oikonomides, Listes**, S. 265.16); the second of δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων τῆς Δύσεως (**Oikonomides, Listes**, S. 265.17); and the third which was stationed in the capital and whose commander is only called δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων (**Oikonomides, Listes**, S. 271.18).

But it seems that this division was done some time before the Escorial Tactic because, according to Kekaumen, Nikoulitsas Delphinas was appointed by emperor Roman II (959-963) as a domestikos of the excubites in Hellas (δομέστικον τῶν ἐξκουβίτων Ἑλλάδος, see **Литаврин, Кекавмен**, 280-281).

The text of the seal points out that Adralestos was not only a domestikos of the eastern excubites but also a domestikos of the East. No such combination of both offices is known from other sources. One may guess that the domestikos of the excubites sent to this part of the empire was also entrusted with the command of all military units dispatched to the East, i.e. he was supreme commander of the army forces found here during a particular military operation.

On the earlier period of his career when he was ἐκ προσώπου of the strategos of the Thrace and Ioannopolis theme, see here under no. 35B.19.

8. Ἀνατολικῶν

Anatolikon was one of the most significant themes in Central Asia Minor. The earliest evidence of its strategos dates from 669. Generally this theme has included the lands of ancient Phrygia, Lykaonia, Pisidia and Lydia. The strategos of Anatolikon occupied one of the first places in the list found in the Escorial Tactic ahead of the domestikos of the schools of the East and of the West (**Oikonomides, Listes**, S. 263.22-24). During the XIth century the ruler of this theme, in contrast to the other themes, was still called strategos and tended to be appointed as duke (**Cheyne**, *Du stratege au duc*, 187-188).

8.1 Βαλάντιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (IXth-Xth centuries)

National Museum of History, Bucharest, Romania. Found in the Region of Silistra. Good, even though incomplete imprint. D. 25-26 mm.

Ed. **Banescu**, *O colectia*, no. 6.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Ο-Α-Γ' || Ν-Ι-Κ'. Along dotted border circular inscription: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΗΤΩCΩΔΟΝΑ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΡΑΛΑ. | ΤΗΩΡ'Α'C | ΑΘ'SCTPA | ΗΓΟΤ'ΑΝ | ΑΤΟΛΙΚΟ | ΝΑΜΙ.
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Βαλα[ν]τήφ β'(πρωτο)σ[π]αθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρα[τ]ηγ(ο)ν Ἀνατολικὸν ἀμ[ι]ν

This seal is dated according its inscription and suffix ἀμην generally to the IXth-Xth century, but the Xth century is the more probable.

The collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 151 and Shaw, no. 655) contains similar specimens bearing the same inscription and subject of representation but they are related to a strategos of Cappadocia. It is obvious that one and the same person is concerned but in the different stages of his career.

The Museum of Istanbul has also preserved a seal with the same depiction on the obverse and on its reverse the name of Βαλάντιος is inscribed who is anthypatos, patrikios and strategos (see **Ebersolt**, Constantinople, no. 290). Unfortunately, there is not any illustration or transcription to prove the aforementioned. Therefore, we cannot definitely confirm that the person in question was one and the same during the latest period of his career.

It is difficult to identify the owner of the seal Βαλάντιος with some person known from the narrative sources. Some Arabian sources report the name of a Byzantine general called Balantes from the Xth century who should be the owner of the seal according to its first publisher. In this case, the problem is again posed of explaining the sojourn of this person in Dristra during the Xth century.

8.2 Διογένης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (971-?)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22194. D. 24-24.5 (19) 3 mm, 10.62 g. Incomplete imprint, parts of the dies with the image and the text have not survived. A well-preserved imprint but covered with lead oxides.

b. Private collection. It was offered for purchase by the Museum of History in Stara Zagora where I documented it. D. 23-23 (19) 2.5 mm. An incomplete imprint having irregular round or rather rhomb-like form.

The two specimens have been struck with the same die.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 199-200. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps; on either side, fleuron arising from the base. Along dotted border circular inscription: + ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙΩCΩΔ8Α'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) |+ΔΗΟ | ΓΕΝ'Α'CΠΑ | Θ'SCTP... | ΤΟΝΑΝΑ... | ΛΗΚ'

b) |+ΔΗΟ |... | Ν'Α'CΠΑ |... | CTPAT' |... | ΟΝΑΝΑΤ' | ΛΗΚ'

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Διογένη(η) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῷ) τὸν Ἀνατ(ο)ληκ(ῶν)

The remark could be added to what is written in the quoted literature that the title of Diogenes was too low for his position, strategos of the East during the Xth-XIth century. He probably occupied this office when the imperial protospatharios Peter was domestikos of the schools of the West (about the last mentioned, see here no. 26.1A).

8.3 Λέων Μελισσινός πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (the 70s-80s of the Xth century)

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 13578. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 24-28 (over 25) 1.5 mm. The blank and the imprint were rather thin and the molybdenum is poorly preserved.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 201.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

..Ε.. | ..ΕΙΤ | ..CΩΔ | ..ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..ΩΝ. | ΠΑΤΡΙΚ.. | SCTPATHΓ | Τ'ΑΝΑΤ... | Τ'ΜΕΛ... | ..

[+Κ(ύρι)]ε [βοήθη]ει τ[ῷ] σῷ δ[ούλ]ω Λέων[τ(ι) πατρικ[ί]ω] (καὶ) στρατηγ[ῷ] τ[ῷ]ν Ἀνατ[ολ(ι)κ(ῶν)] τ[ῷ] Μελισσηνῷ

About Leon Melissinos see here, no. 26.4, presenting the latest stage of his career.

9. Ἀντωνίου

9.1 Λαύρας τοῦ κῦρ Ἀντωνίου (XIc.)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia. Find-spot: Pliska during archaeological excavations in 1931-1937 conducted by K. Miatev. D. 25-25 (20) 2 mm. A well-centered but incomplete imprint. Parts of the image and some of the letters are missing.

Ed. **Герасимов**, *Плиска*, № 5; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 1139; **Йорданов**, *Плиска*, № 25.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands raised before her. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines preceded by decoration:

|+THC | ΛΑΥΡΑC | Τ8Κ'VAN | .ΩΝΙ.

+Τῆς λαύρας τοῦ κ(υρί)ου Ἀ[ν]τωνί[ου]

In his publication Fr. Laurent suggests that this laura was identical with the μονῆς τοῦ κῦρ Ἀντωνίου known since the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195), which was situated in the capital of Constantinople. Probably this laura had some material interests in Pliska (properties), in connection with which he wrote to an addressee unknown to us, a secular clerk or a church representative.

10. Ἀρκαδιούπολεως

Lule Burgas in Turkish Thrace today. This was an important strategic center and the residence of the strategos of the Thrace theme after its division into two parts in 800. The specimens from Preslav have given the first concrete information about the military and administrative development of the city and its surroundings. The unearthing of the seals in Preslav was the reason to suggest that there was a direct administrative connection between the cities of Preslav and Arkadioupolis, but what its character was has not been answered specifically. Now, in the light of the latest information that Arkadioupolis was a residence of the strategos of Thrace, these connections appear quite natural.

Around 640 Arkadioupolis was an autocephalous archbishopric and its titulars participated in a number of ecumenical councils and patriarchal synods. In a notitia from the time of Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195), it already has the rank of a metropolitanate. There are suspicions that its rank was lowered to an archbishopric in the early XIVth century. It is last mentioned as a metropolitanate in 1359.

Bibliography: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 640; **Бешевлиев**, *Първобългарски*, № 26; **Asdracha**, Thrace, 231-233, 279-280; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, p. 155.

10.1 Λέων β'σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν καὶ βασιλικὸς Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως (the third quarter of the XIth century)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Veliki Preslav, no. 22979. D. 22.5-23 (15) 3 mm, 6.89 g. The reverse and obverse sides do not coincide due to loosening of the boulloterion.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Veliki Preslav, no. 20281. D. 21-25 (15) 2 mm. W. 6.89 g. The reverse and obverse sides do not coincide due to loosening of the boulloterion.

c. Museum of Archaeology, Veliki Preslav, no. 26476. The imprint is badly preserved and it is rolled up or it is tubular with an upper piece cut. W. 5.20 g.

All three specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 202-204.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-Γ || N-I-KO'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΛΕΩΝ | Ρ'CΠΑΘΚΑ | ΝΔ' ΕΠΙΤΟ | Κ'SR'AP | ΚΑΔΙ | Π'

+ Λέων β'σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(ιδᾶτος) ἐπὶ τ[ῷ]ν ο(ι)κ(ει)ακ[ῶν] (καὶ) β(ασιλ)ικ[ῶς]

Ἀρκαδι(ου)π(ό)λεως

10.2 Κατακαλὼν σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως (the third quarter of XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Veliki Preslav, no. 101. D. 25-27 (24) 3 mm. W. 14.75 g. The reverse and obverse sides do not coincide due to loosening of the boulloterion.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 205.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands raised before her. Sigla: MP || ΘV. Along dotted border circular inscription:ΤΟCΟΔ..Ο

Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded by decoration:

| ΚΑΤΑ Κ' | .ΠΘΑΚΑΝΔ' | ..ΤΟΚ'ΤΩ | ΜΑΡΑΡΚ' | ΔΙ8ΠΟ'
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τ]ο σο δ[ούλ]ο Κατακ(α)λ(ών) [σ]παθ(αρο)κανδ(ι)[δά]το κ(αί)
τωρμάρχ(η) Ἀρκ(α)διουπό(λεως)

The information obtained from this seal clarifies to a certain extent the number and the names of the turmas in the Thrace theme. Nesbitt and Oikonomides in *DOS*, 1, p. 155, assumed that the Thrace theme consists of three turmas: Thrace, Byzia and Sozopolis. The data received from two groups of seals, presented by the authors, testify that a turmarches ruled Thrace. According to the opinions of the same authors, this turmarches commanded part of the army of the theme situated near to the residence of the strategos or to Arkadioupolis itself. The presence of a seal which belonged to the turmarches of Arkadioupolis, though at a later period, refutes this assumption. The Thrace theme actually consisted of three turmas. During a certain period these were Arkadioupolis, Byzia and Sozopolis. Their number and significance were in accordance with political developments. When the city of Sozopolis was within the borders of the Bulgarian state, it was replaced with another one. In that case the presence of a seal which belonged to the turmarches of Thrace can be explained (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, p. 155, no. 71.39).

10.3 Ἀντρόνικος διοικητὴς καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας (the third quarter of the XIth century)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Veliki Preslav, no. 20176. D. 26-27 (21?) 3-4 mm. W. 9.85 g. A good imprint but badly kept. It is deeply corroded and broken.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Veliki Preslav, no. 18559. D. 20-22 (21?) 2.5 mm. W. 6.95 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the diameter of the dies.

The two specimens are from the same boulloterion. Find-spot: the strategeia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 206-207.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

a) +ΚΕΡ. | ΗΘ'ΤΩCΩ | Δ'ΑΝΤΡΟ | ΝΙΚ'Δ8 | Κ..
b) .ΚΕΡ. | . . ΤΩ . . | . . ΝΤΡΟ | . . Κ'Δ8 | ...

Rev. Vertical inscription in five lines:

a) . Κ.ΕΚ | Π.ΟCΩΠ' | ΑΡΚΑΔΙ8 | ΠΟΛ'SMΕ | CHMRPI | ..
b) | . . ΟCΩΠ' | . . ΚΑΔ . . | . ΟΛ'SM . | CHMR . . | ..
+Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Ἀντρονίκ(ω) δ(ι)ουκ[ήτ(η)] κ[αί] ἐκ [π]ροσώπ(ου)
Ἀρκαδιουπόλ(εως) (καί) Μεσημβρί[ας]

10.4 Στέφανος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως (Xth-XIth c.)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 15030. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 24-26 (18) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The blank is well centred but the imprint is shallow and obtuse.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, II, № 13.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Along dotted border circular inscription:ΝΙΚΩ....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

CTCF | ..ΩΑΡΧΙ | .Π'CΚΟΠ | ..ΚΑΔΙΟ | ΠΟΛΕΟ'

[+Ἀγίε] Νικώ[λαε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ] Στεφ[άν]ω ἀρχι[ε]πι[σ]κόπ(ω)
[Ἀρ]καδιο(υ)πόλεο(ς)

Stephanos is not present in the bishops' lists of the city.

11. Ἀρμενιοκοὶ

One of the four original themes of Asia Minor. By the Xth century the Armeniakoi included the western regions of the Pontos (see Nesbitt, McGeer and Oikonomides, *DOS*, 4, p. 54).

11.1 Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀνεμᾶς σπαθᾶριος καὶ ἐπισκεπτίτης Ἀρμενιοκοῦ (Xth-XIth century)

Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-20 (18) 3.5 mm. W. 8.2 g. Incomplete imprint which has been perfectly preserved.

Unpublished.

Parallels: DO 55.1.2904 (see Nesbitt, McGeer and Oikonomides, *DOS*, 4, no. 22.14). Imprinted with the same boulloterion. Two other copies are known in which the title of spatharios is missing. One is kept at the Athens Numismatic Museum (see Konstantopoulos, *Stamuly*, no. 66) while the other has been found in the fortress near the village of Nufarul, district of Tulcea, Romania (see Barnea, *Pontica*, 16, 1983, 267-268, no. 4).

Obv. Inscription of five lines, preceded and followed by decorations:

- ❖ - | .. ΕΡ'Θ' | .CΩΔΥ | .ΩΝCΤΑ | .ΤΙΝCΠ | .ΘΑΡΙ. | - ❖ -

Rev. Inscription of five lines, a decoration above:

- ❖ - | ΣΕΠΙC | ΚΕΠ'ΑΡΜ | ΕΝΙΑΚ. | ΤΟΑΝ. | - ? -
[Θ(εοτό)κ]ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῷ] σῷ δού(λῳ) [Κ]ωνστα[ν]τίν(ω)] σπ[α]ρί[φ] (καί) ἐπισκεπ(τίτη)
Ἀρμενιак[οῦ] το Ἀν[εμᾶ]

One may ask what motivated this clerk in the administration of the Armeniakoi theme to write at least twice to what is now northeastern Bulgaria.

12. Ἀσίας

12.1 Ἀποθήκης τῶν ἀνδραπόδων Ἀσίας (694-695)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-29 (?) 6 mm. Incomplete imprint but well-preserved.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Justinian II standing, wearing a stemma, divitision and chlamys, and holding an orb with a cross in r. hand. Inscription around the presentation:

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ = Γεωργίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.ΠΟΘΗ | .ΗCΤΩΝ | ΑΝΔΡΑΠ | ΔΩΝΑCΗ |
[Ἀ]ποθή[k]ης τῶν ἀνδραπ[ό]δων Ἀσή[ας]

A seal with a similar inscription and image has been published by Zacos, *Seals*, I, no. 187. It concerns ἀποθήκης (a store), in which the goods made by the captives, mainly Slavs, were kept. Zacos pointed out a similar store in Phrygia. The inscription of our specimen is not well-preserved but available letters show that it could be attributed to Asia.

12.2 Τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Ἀσίας (755-756 or 770-771)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 12. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 27-28 mm. Blank too small for die, therefore the imprint is incomplete.

Ed.: Schlumberger, *Inedite*, no. 149; Лихачев, *Датированные*, с. 203; Мушмов, *Печати*, № 5; Zacos, *Seals*, I, p. 166, no. 8. No parallels known.

Obv. Two imperial busts: Constantine V (l.) bearded and Leo IV beardless (r.), both wearing chlamyses and crowns; no remains of inscription.

Rev. Bust of Leo III wearing a crown, divitision and loros; the upper part of the reverse is out of the blank; below an inscription of four lines:

..NBACIAI. | .NKoMME.. | .ONACI |
[Tō]v βασιλι[kō]v κομμε[ρkί]ων Ἀσί[ας] Ἰ(νδικτιων) ?]

In the publication which includes the description of V. Dobruski, the emperors are considered to be Theophilos, Michael and Constantine and the seal is dated to the IXth century. But in the later publications the emperors are assumed to be Constantine V, his father and his son, and this is more acceptable. Unfortunately, the indiction, which could be conducive to a more precisely dating, is not inscribed on the specimen.

13. Ἀχρίδος

An unidentified settlement in the Rodopi Mountains southeast of Asenovgrad (Stenimachos). The name of this bishopric is not present in any diocese lists but it is included in the XIIth-XIIIth century sources. One cannot say to which metropolitan it was subservient but it is suggested that Achrida, Moreia and Philippoupolis formed a single theme and the bishop of Achrida was subordinate to the Philippopolis metropolitan. The seals presented below are the only information for its existence:

1. Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀχρίδου (see below);
2. Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀχρίδου (XIth century) after a specimen from the collection of the MK in Vienna, no. 197, which probably originated from Istanbul (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V. 1, no. 691).

13.1. Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀχρίδου (XI-XII c.)

Kept in the Museum of History in Kurdzhali, no. 5483. Found in the vicinity of the village of Chifflik, Plovdiv Region. D. 22-24 mm. A well-kept but incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Stephanos holding a martyr's cross (r. hand).

Inscription in two columns: Θ-C-ΤΕ || Φ-ΑΝ-Ο

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΑΓΙΕ | ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕ | ΡΟΗΘ'ΘΕΟ| ΔΩΡΩΕ?Ι | ΣΚΟΠ..| ΧΡΙ.
+ Ἄγιε Στέφανε βοήθ(ει) Θεοδώρῳ ἐπίσκοπ[ω] Ἀ[χρί]δου]

Both bishops have St. Stephanos as their patron. This testifies that the cathedral church of this bishopric was probably named after of the great martyr St. Stephanos.

14. Βασπρακανίας

This theme was established as a Byzantine one after 1021 when the King of Vaasprakan Senecherim Artzruni and his successor and associated ruler Derenik ceded their possessions to the empire. According to Yahia of Antioch, these possessions had been transformed into an unusual type of katepanate (Розен, с. 62) which remained within the borders of the empire until 1071 when it was lost by Byzantium after the battle of Manzikert.

The following rulers of Vaasprakanias are known from different written sources (the list is compiled according to the chronology of **Арутюнова-Фиданиян**, *Васпуракан*, с. 93):

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Βασίλειος Ἀργυρὸς πατρίκιος | 1021-1022 |
| 2. Νικηφόρος Κομνηνὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος | 1022-1026 |
| 3. Νικόλαος Χρυσήλιος πατρίκιος | 1032-1033 |
| 4. Νικήτας Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος | 1033-1034 |
| 5. Κωνσταντῖνος Καβάσιλας πατρίκιος | 1034-1035 |
| 6. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης πατρίκιος | 1035-1037 |
| 7. Στέφανος Λειχούδης πατρίκιος | from 1042 to 1045 |
| 8. Ἀαρὼν βέστης | 1047-1049 |

9. Γρηγόριος (Pachlavunis), μάγιστρος, ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ δοῦξ 1051
10. Παγκράτιος (uncertain title) δοῦξ 1059

The following rulers are known from sphragistic information:

1. Στέφανος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρίκλινου καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (**Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 1046), dates to the mid-XIth century. It could be identified with no. 7 of the preceding list. The lack of a patronym is an obstacle but it is surmountable. One should remember that there is some doubt whether Στέφανος was son of Constantine Leichoudes or of his sister.

2. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας, mid-XIth century (see **Шандровская**, *Васпуракан*, 155-156; *SBS*, 3, p. 189).

3. Γεώργιος Μονομάχος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας, dates to the mid-XIth century, according to an unpublished specimen of the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1590:

Obv. The Virgin standing on subpedaneum and holding the Child Christ on l. arm.

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩΩΔΛΑ' | ΓΕΩΡΓΠΡΙ | ΣΚΑΤΕΠΑΝ | ΡΑΣΠΡΑΚΝ | ΤΩΜΟΝΟΜ |..

4. Ἀαρὼν βέστης, ἀντύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (**Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 352) dates to the mid-XIth century and could be identified with no. 8.

5. Γρηγόριος Ἀρσακίδης μάγιστρος ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ δοῦξ Βασπρακανίας καὶ Ταρῶνος (**Seibt**, Ἀρσακίδης, no. 1). Dates to the period of 1050-1058 and he can be identified with no. 9 of the preceding list.

6. Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (?-1064), see below.

7. Μιχαήλ Ν., [Α(Κ?)Α(Π)Ι] βεστάρχης καὶ δοῦξ Βασπρακανίας (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, 431-432; **Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, с. 25, № 2, pl. VII). Dates to the 1060s-1070s.

It is noteworthy that a large number of the listed rulers of Vaasprakanias were related to the Bulgarian lands by birth, by office and, last but not least, by the correspondence sent to them there.

Bibliography: **Арутюнова-Фиданиян**, *Васпуракан*, 85-93; **Юзбашян**, *Армянские*, 179-183; **Seibt**, *Vaspourakan*, 49-66; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 192-195; **Шандровская**, *Васпуракан*, 152-161.

14.1 Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (?-1064)

- a. Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 394. Found during archaeological excavations at the "Krumov dvoretz", sq. 178, depth 0.20 m, above the brick flooring on April 28th, 1979. D. 33.5-34 mm; field 28 mm; thickness 5 mm. Incomplete imprint because the blank slipped off the boulloterion.
- b. Museum of History in Silistra, no. 77. Found near the village of Malka Popina, district of Silistra, in 1988. D. 17-36.5 mm; field 28 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. A half from probably originally a good specimen.
- c. In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, probably northeastern Bulgaria. D. 29-31 mm; field 28 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. About a third is out of the blank.

The three specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a. **Йорданов**, *Плиска*, № 6; b-c. Unpublished.

Parallels: Two others specimens from same die are preserved in the collection of: the Hermitage (M-2897, see **Шандровская**, *Васпуракан*, 157-158, зам. 36; Zacos, III, see: **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, 35-36; **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 116. In the same Zacos' collection is preserved another specimen, struck with the different boulloterion or die. See **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, S.36.

Obv. St. Basil standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || R

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

- a) ..ΕΡ'Θ'|...ΙΛΕΙΩ|..CΤΑΡΧΗΣ |..ΤΕΠΑΝΩΡΑ |..CΠΡΑΚΑΝ'| ΑCΤΩΑΠΟ |ΚΑΠΟΙ
b) ..ΕΡ'Θ'|ΡΑCΙΛΕ.. |..ΕCΤΑΡ... |..ΤΕΠΑΝ... |..ΠΡΑΚ.. |..CΤΩΑ.. | ΚΑΠ..
c) | ΡΑCΙ.. |..ΕCΤΑ... |..ΕΠΑΝ... |..ΡΑΚ.. |..CΤΩΑ.. |
[+Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλείω [β]εστάρχη (καὶ) [κα]τεπάνω Βα[α]σπρακαν(ί)ας τῷ Ἀποκάποι

Basil Apokapes was katepanos of Vaasprakanias before taking part in the expedition against the Guzes and he came to the Balkans perhaps holding such a position. This conclusion has been also drawn by **Шандровская**, *Васпуракан*, с. 160. She based it on the following report of Mathew of Edessa: "The emperor mustered an army from all inhabitants of the realm; he called the Armenian volunteer forces and put Basil, son of Abukaba in charge of them; then Basil set out to the Danube". His successor or assessor was perhaps Μιχαήλ Ν., [Α(Κ?)Α(Π)Ι] βεστάρχης καὶ δοῦξ

Βασπρακανίας whose patronym is vague and illegible, but available letters prompt certain closeness with the one of Apokapes. Perhaps this person was his relative. Probably he was duke Michael, father of magistros Basil and vestarches Pharesmanus, mentioned in the ascription of the testament of Eustatius Boilas (**Lemerle**, *Le Testament*, 49-50).

He arrived on the Balkans in the capacity of vestarches and katepanos of Vaasprakaniās. In the region of the Lower Danube he was promoted to the rank of magistros and was appointed dux of the emperor's army, sent there with the task to stop the Guzes in their crossing the Danube.

Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης is known both from the narrative sources and sphragistic monuments. They describe the following *cursus honorum*:

1054-1055 : πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς [Μανζικιέρτε] (see **Аристакес Ластивертин**, гл. XVI, с. 101; **Attaleiates**, *Historia*, p. 46; **Skylitzes**, 462.61-62).

before 1064/1065 : βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας, according to five lead seals found in Silistra, Pliska and Istanbul (See: **Йорданов**, *Василий Апокан*, с. 107, обр.2; **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, 35-36).

1064-1065 : ἐπαρχοντος τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων (see **Attaleiates**, p. 83; **Skylitzes**, *Continuatus*, 113-114).

1064-1065 - ? : μάγιστρος βέστης καὶ δοῦξ, according to five lead seals from the same *bouloterion*, three of which have been found in the region of the Lower Danube (see **Йорданов**, *Василий Апокан*, с. 108, обр. 3; **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, 37-38).

(1066-1083) : πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to three lead seals (see **Йорданов**, *Василий Апокан*, 108-109, обр. 4; **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, 38-39).

πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to three lead seals (see **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, S. 39; *DOC*, 4, no. 73.1).

πρωτονοβελλίσμιος καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to a lead seal (see **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, S. 40).

σεβαστὸς καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to a lead seal from Antioch, no. 2349 (see **Cheyne**, *Antioche et Tarse*, no. 53).

According to information by the already quoted Mathew of Edessa "Basil, son of Abukab, governor of Edessa, died in 1083 and was buried in the Armenian church Gotevor Surb Georg" (**Mathieu d'Edesse**, 180-181).

The discussion regarding the person of Basil Apokapes has taken several disrections:

One of the problems is whether the evidence quoted refers to the same person. Some scholars tend to accept that he is an identical person (**Guilland**, *VR*, XIII, 1-2), others admit the possibility that two men having identical names existed (**Каждан**, *Армине*, 18.2; 18.8), while still others claim that there it is more likely to identify these persons than differentiate between them (**Шандровская**, *Васпйракан*, с. 158). These questions were discussed in my summary article quoted above, as well as in the article which appeared after it by **Grünbard**, *Apokapes*, 29-41.

15. Βαρνας

Today the city of Varna (ancient Odessos). Little is known about the medieval town of Varna. According to the archaeologists, the first signs of life in the former Odessos date to the late IXth or rather the Xth century when a small Bulgarian settlement was created here, of which two or three dug-outs have been unearthed. A new period began with the inclusion of Varna within the borders of Byzantium after 971 when city life was revived. During archaeological excavations in the city, more than 120 separate coin finds have been discovered which date between 976 and 1081. They confirm that unlike many of the towns in northeastern Bulgaria which fell into decay or were even destroyed and deserted forever because of the devastating Pecheneg invasions, Varna remained untouched and developed as a thriving city. Nothing is known about the place and role of the medieval city of Varna in the Byzantine administration. The name of Βάρνας is mentioned for the first time in 1043 in connection with the victory of Katakalon Kekaumenos over the Russian troops which returned from Constantinople. "...Κατακαλὼν βέστης ὁ Κεκαυμένος, ἄρχων ὦν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων καὶ χωρίων, κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς λεγομένης Βάρνας..." [The vestes Katakalon Kekaumenos, governor of the Danubian cities and lands, intercepted them near the so-called Varna (see **Skylitzes**, 433.27-29)]. The seal of a Varna strategos presented below is the first one bearing the name of the city or the

region. It confirms that the region was fortified and defended and it is hardly accidental that the Russian troops were routed here. Probably after 1043 a strategos was appointed here.

Bibliography: **Кузев**, *А. Български средновековни градове и крепости*, Варна, 1981, 293-315; **Йотов**, *В. Монетната циркуляция във Варна през X-XII в.- Numismatic and Sphragistic Contributions to the History of the Western Black Sea Coast*, Varna, 12-13.09.2001.

15.1 Ἀσωτῆς ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βάρνας (?-1064)

In private possession (coll. Dr. D. Theodoridis from Munich). Originated from Bulgaria. D. 25-29 (22.5) mm. A full and well kept imprint.

Ed. **Seibt**, *Geographie Bulgariens*, no. 1.

No parallels known.

Obv. A full-length figure of a warrior saint (St. Procopius) with a nimbus. His right arm rests on a long lance while his left one holds a shield resting on the ground.

Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || Π . P-OK-O-Π'

Rev. Inscription of five lines.

+ ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΑCΟΤΗΩ | ΠΠΙΑΝΘΝΠΙΑ | ΤΩCΤΡΑΤ'Γ' | RΑΡNAC

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Ἀσοτή π(α)τρι(κί)ω ἀνθυπάτω (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) Βάρνας

16. Βελεβουσδίου

This was the Slavic name of modern Kyustendil which was a suffragan bishopric of Ochrid. The name of this bishopric was provided in the first charter of Basil II from 1019. It is ranked eight in the diocese of the archbishopric of Bulgaria. Its importance probably rose because during the time of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) it was already ranked second in the same diocese. The correspondence and negotiations between Kaloyan and Pope Innocent III disclose the name of the Latin archbishop of Kyustendil - Anastasio archiepiscopo Belebusdiensi.

The names of the following bishops of the city from the period of Byzantine domination are known mainly from sphragistic monuments:

1. Nicephorus Apelatus evidenced by a colophon dated to 1071-1072. A group of seals is connected with this person (**Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 2019; **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 630; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 31.2).
2. John, according to a molybdo bull dated to the second half of the XIIth century (see below).
3. Gabriel, brother of the archbishop of Bulgaria, known from his seal dated to the second half of the XIIth century (**Laurent**, *Corpus*, V. 2, no. 1502; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 31).
4. An anonymous bishop of the city from the late XIth or the early XIIth century (**Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 676).

Bibliography: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, 329-330; **Златарски**, *История*, III, 155, 183, 195-197, 203.

16.1 Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος Βελεβουσδίου (second half of the XIIth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 86. Discovered during excavations of Hisarluka near Kyustendil. D. 28-32 (27 ?) 3 mm. The imprint is incomplete. Almost all first letters are missing. The poor availability of some letters and especially these of the second line impede reading.

Ed. **Иванов**, *Й. Разкопки на Хисарлъка до Кюстендил.- ИБАД*, 7, 1919-1920, 112-113, обр. 93; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 1502.

No parallels known.

Obv. Virgin Hagiosoritissa with a nimbus, chymation and maphorion is represented full-length en face with her head turned half-way to the left and hands lifted to God's hand represented on the left above. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΚΕΠΟΙCIC | ΤΕΚ8.ΙΜΑΙ8 | VΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΡΕ | ΛΕΡΟΝCΔΙ8ΠΟΙ | ΜΕΝΑΙΩΑ | NNHN
+ Σκέποις ιςυ Παρθένε Βελεβουσδίου ποιμένα Ἰωάννην

The fragmented text and the lack of information about this bishop of Belebousdion prevent us from commenting.

17. Βελικίας

This is a bishopric whose situation is being discussed because it may refer not to a name of a city but to a region populated by Slavs which is situated between the metropolitans of Philippi and Philippoupolis. According to Laurent, its connection with Philippoupolis may be due to a mistake in writing. Other authors are inclined to accept that it passed from the first diocese to the second one, depending on the movement of the Slavs during the various seasons.

Bibliography: Lemmerle, *Philippes*, 258-260; Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, 540-541; Peri, V. Velika (Dragvista) e il primo vescovo della chiesa Bulgara, *Boll. Grot.*, 1992, 159-187.

17.1 Ν., πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βελικίας (?) (last quarter of the Xth century)

In a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Originates from the region of Smyadovo. D. 19-20 (over 20) 3.5 mm. W. 9.04 g. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross with fleurons on three steps, which seems to be inverted and the steps are above. Partial inscription around the image:CΩΔΟΝΑ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ...ΠΡ. | ..CΠASC | ..AT⁺ ΡΕΔ | ...

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει] τῷ σῶ δούλῳ | πρ[ωτο]σπα(θαρίῳ) (καὶ) σ[τρα]τ(ηγῷ)

Βελ[ικί(ας)]

The imprint is partial and reading is problematic. This refers to the homonym and patronym. The first two letters of this toponym are surely ΡΕ, but only half of the third one has survived. It could be Λ, Α or Δ. Most of all it looks like Λ. This enables me to suggest that it refers to Βελικίας. There is really no evidence that Βελικίας has ever been an administrative centre but, by and large, very little is known about this bishopric. The seal is dated to the time of John I Tzimiskes when all kinds of temporary military-administrative units became possible.

17.2 Στέφανος ἐπίσκοπος Βελικίας (Xth-XIth centuries)

Museum of History, Kardzali, no. 5490. D. 25-25 (17) 2.5 mm. Findspot - Kardzhali Region.

Unpublished. I would like to thank Dr. Nikolai Ovsharov for the opportunity to publish the specimen.

Parallels: another specimen imprinted with the same boulloterion is kept in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.137) and probably originates from Istanbul. See: Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 714; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 38.2.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, hands raised before her breast. Title: ..|| Θῶ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines, the final letter between two bars:

+ ΘΚΕ | Ρ'CTΕΦ' | ΕΠICK' | ΡΕΛΙ | -Κ'-

+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Στεφ(άνῳ) ἐπίσκ(όπῳ) Βελικ(ίας)

18. Βερόης

This city was a successor to the ancient city of Augusta Trayiana in the field of the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations. The stronghold was restored by Empress Eirene in 784 and it was renamed Eirenoupolis. It was permanently annexed to Bulgaria by Khan Krum during his campaigns in 812-813. The city was seized again by Byzantium in 970 or 971. A strategos mentioned in the Escorial Tactic resided there (975). The seals presented below belonged to the strategoi of the city from the same time. Βερόης was recaptured by the Bulgarians in 986 and in 1000 it again became a possession of Byzantium within the limits of the Philippoupolis theme. It was meaningless for Βερόης to become the main city of a strategeia after the final conquest of Eastern and Western Bulgaria because of the proximity of Philippoupolis and Adrianoupolis. Nevertheless, it maintained its strategic role as a significant economic and probably administrative centre in the countryside. The city of Βερόης again came to the attention of the official authorities during 1080s when it was an imperial stronghold against the Pechenegs and Cumans. Emperor Alexius I Komnenus and the commanders of his troops stayed there several times.

About twenty seals found there prove, albeit indirectly, the strategic importance of the city.

The following persons were strategoi of Beroe:

1. Ἀνδρόνικος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βερόης (970/971-?), see below.

2. Ἰωσήφ β' πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγὸς Βερόης (?-986), see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 64.1.

Several attempts have been made to identify the seals of turmarcheses which are inscribed with the toponym: ΡΕΡΟΟΙC, ΡΕΡΟΙΑC, etc., but these seals can not be satisfactorily ascribed to Beroe (Βερόης). More probably they belong to Bereia (Βέροιας), the city located southwest of Thessalonica.

The bishop's chair in Beroe existed as early as the IVth century and it was soon promoted to the rank of archbishopric. The name of the bishopric was present in the Byzantine diocese lists until the IXth century when it was conquered by the Bulgarians and was included in the Bulgarian ecclesiastical structure. It is an intriguing fact that its name is no longer found after the permanent conquest of Bulgaria by Byzantium in 1018. Its name is absent among the bishoprics subservient to the Ochrid archbishopric or among those directly subordinate to the Constantinople patriarchate.

Bibliography: Laurent, *Corpus*, V.3, p. 155; Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 361; Йорданов, Берое, 57-69; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, p. 149.

18.1 Ἀνδρόνικος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βερόης (970-971-?).

A) στρατηγὸς Βερόης

a-e. Find-spot: the strategeia of Preslav (see Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 208-212).

f. Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 22252. Found in the embankment of the southern inner city of Preslav on April 4th, 1984. D. 25-27 mm; field 17 mm; thickness 3 mm. Entire imprint but badly preserved.

All six specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a-e: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 208-212; f: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3). In the quarters: ΤΩ-СΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+AN | ΔΡΩNH | ΚΩCTPA | ΤΙΓΩΡΕ | ΡΟIC

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Ἀνδρωνήκῳ στρατιγῷ Βερόις

B) πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βερόης

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17640. D. 26-26.5 (21) 2 m. W. 7.26 g. Incomplete imprint but well-preserved.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 18080. D. 23-26 (21) 3 mm. W. 10.75 g. Incomplete imprint. Almost half of the text is missing but the imprinted letters are sharp. In the middle the blank has been perforated by corrosion.

The two specimens were struck with the same die.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 206-207.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ NK | = 'Ο ἄγιος Ν(ι)κ(ό)[λα(ος)]. Along border of dots circular inscription: ..Ε.ΤΩ.....

Rev. Vertical inscription in four lines:

ΑΝΔΡΟΝ | .ΚΟΑ'СПΑΘ | ΑΡSCTPAT | .ΓΡΕΡΟΗ

[+Κ(ύρι)]ε[βοήθει] τῷ [σῶ δούλῳ] Ἀνδρον[ί]κο (πρωτο)σπαθαρίῳ(καὶ) στρατ[η]γ(ῷ) Βερόη(ς)

18.2 Χριστοφόρος πρόεδρος Βερόης (XI-XII в.)

A)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no 31916. Unknown provenance. Among the seals which Emil Kosev collected and brought to Sofia for sale and later returned them to Vasil Vasilev. He did not give back the original ones but others of which V. Vasilev is not aware where they come from. The seals of V. Vasilev originated from the region of Bourgas. D. 20-25 (17) 3 mm. A well-preserved but incomplete imprint. The first letters of almost all lines have remained outside the blank.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. The Virgin standing, facing, holding Christ in her l. arm. Sigla: $\overline{\text{MP}} \parallel \overline{\text{OV}}$.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- + - | .PICTO | ..PONPIA | ..GNERE | POHCCKE | POIC
+ [X]ριστο[φό]ρον Πά[να]γνε Βερόης σκέποις

B)

Museum of History, Yambol, no. 5467. Found on the land of the village of Maluk Izvor, district of Harmanli, in the Gradishteto area some 1-1.5 km north of the village. It was found by Hristin from Yambol. D. 19-20 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.3, no. 1812; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 64.2. Imprinted with a boulloterion identical to our specimen. Victoria Bulgakova has informed me about another specimen, probably struck in the same boulloterion and discovered during archaeological excavations in the Russian medieval town of Novgorod. She states that the seal is authentic and was found during excavations. I have a more cautious opinion, because according to the same informant a seal of the Bulgarian patriarch Vissarion was also found in Novgorod (see **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, 129-131). From the description given me I believe this is a contemporary forgery. I also am personally familiar with its engraver. It has recently become a practice to verify and legalize forged specimens supposedly "uncovered" during archaeological digs.

Obv. The Virgin seated on a backless throne, holding medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: $\overline{\text{MP}} \parallel \overline{\text{O}}$.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΧΩΦΟΡΟΝ | ΠΑΝΑΓΝΕ | ΡΕΡΟΗΣ | ΣΚΕΠΟΙC
Χ(ριστ)ωφόρον Πάναγνε Βερόης σκέποις

Both groups of seals clearly belonged to one and the same person. One may ask which group is earlier and what the reason was for the change of seal of this prelate. The iconographic subject of Virgin enthroned is usually dated to the late XIth century and seems to be later than the type of full-length Virgin.

Some differences are observed regarding the commentary on the rank of the chair. According to **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.3, no. 1812 it refers to an archbishopric while **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 64.2, accepts that it stands for a bishopric. In any case, this seal is new evidence for the church administration of Βερόης.

One cannot be exhaustive as regards the eventual question about the addressee of the correspondence of Christophoros of Beroe. The seal from Maluk Izvor probably belonged to the diocese of Beroe, while there is no satisfactory answer about the seal discovered in the Bourgas region.

19. Βουλγαρίας

This theme was established after the final conquest of Bulgaria by Byzantium in 1018. It stands to reason that during different periods it included different territories and its significance was different. Its main city was Skopia. A question arises: when sources reported some doux of Skopia during the last quarter of the XIth and early XIIth century, did that also mean that he was doux of Bulgaria? Other strategic cities of Bulgaria were Nisos, Serdica, as well as smaller strategia and strongholds like Ochrid, Kastoria, Ostrov, Pelagonia, Moglena, etc.

The borders of the Bulgaria theme (and later on Bulgaria katepanate and dukedom) were variable but as a whole they were the following: northward - the Danube River; northeastward - the Paradounavon katepanate; eastward - the Adrianoupolis dukedom and katepanate (the Macedonia theme); southeastward - the Thessalonica dukedom and katepanate (Strymon and Hellas themes); westward and southwestward - the Dyrrachion and Nikopolis themes; northwestward - Zeta and Rashka.

The sphragistic materials obtained from Bulgaria are scanty for illustrating its structure, scope and development. The bibliography has accumulated enough empirical materials about different rulers of Bulgaria, but it is necessary to review critically the proposed list of these rulers in accordance with the available written sources, chiefly the sphragistic ones.

The following persons were rulers of Bulgaria themes according to the written sources (see **Banescu**, *Duches*, 11, 8-170, 173-174; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 228-233):

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Δαβίδ Ἀρειανίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς-αὐτοκράτωρ | 1018 |
| 2. Κωνσταντῖνος Διογένης πατρίκιος καὶ δούξ Β. | 1022-1025 |

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 3. Βασίλειος Μοναχὸς σύγκελλος ἡγεμὼν/προνουτῆς Β. | 1048-1053 |
| 4. Νικηφόρος Πρωτεύων | 1054-1055 |
| 5. Ἀνδρόνικος Φιλοκάλης κατεπάνω Β. | 1066-1067 |
| 6. Νικηφόρος Καραντηνὸς δούξ Σκοπίων | 1071-1072 |
| 7. Δαμιανὸς Δαλασσηνὸς δούξ Σκοπίων | 1072 |
| 8. Νικηφόρος Βρυέννιος δούξ τῶν Βουλγάρων | 1074-1075 |
| 9. Ἀλέξανδρος Καβάσιλας δούξ Σκοπίων | 1078 |
| 10. Niketas dux et princeps Bulgarorum | 1096 |
| 11. Ἰωάννης Ταρωνίτης δούξ Σκοπίων | 1101-1106 |

The following seals belonged to Bulgarian rulers:

1. Βάρδας πρωτοσπαθάριος, στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας (1020s), see **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 370.
2. Χριστόφορος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσोटρίκλινου καὶ κατεπάνω Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Βουλγαρίας (1020s), see **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 969.
3. Ἰωάννης ἀσηκρήτης καὶ νοτάριος τῆς Βουλγαρίας (1020s), according to unpublished specimen from DO 58.106.3732.
4. Βασίλειος Μοναχὸς σύγκελλος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας (1048-?)
5. Κωνσταντῖνος (1050s-1060s)
 - a) πατρίκιος ὑπάτος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας, see **Schlumberger**, *MA*, 227-228, no. 50; **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 423.
 - b) ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δούξ Βουλγαρίας (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 240, no. 1).
 - c) ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δούξ Θεσσαλονίκης Βουλγαρίας καὶ Σερβίας (**Swiencicky**, *Lwow*, no. 11).
 - d) βέστης, ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, λογαριάστης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς πάσης Βουλγαρίας (represented by five specimens, see: **Laurent**, *Vatican*, no. 95; **Szemoth-Wasilewski**, *Varsovie*, no. 48; **Touratsoglou**, *Ritsos*, 273-274; **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 422; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.1).
 - e) βεστάρχης καὶ προνοητῆς πάσης Βουλγαρίας (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 240, no. 2).
6. Λέων Δρίμυς βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Βουλγαρίας (the 50s of the XIth century). Represented by a single specimen: **Μορδτμανν**, *Εὐρώπης*, σ. 145.2; **Laurent**, *Bulletin*, 611-613; **Banescu**, *Douches*, p. 115; **Йорданов**, *Леон Дрим*, 146-147.
7. Ἀνδρόνικος Φιλοκάλης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s-1070s), see **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 323.
8. Μιχαὴλ Σαρωνίτης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βουλγαρίας (1070s), see **Μορδτμανν**, *Εὐρώπης*, σ. 145.2 and one unpublished of the Zacos collection, III, no. 1606.
9. Νικηφόρος Βατάτζης πρόεδρος καὶ δούξ Βουλγαρίας (the 70s of the XIth century), represented by two specimens: the Hermitage (M-2950), see **Шандровская**, *Моливдовулы*, с. 148; DO 58.106.5695, see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.3.
10. Ἰωάννης πρόεδρος, κρητὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ προνοητῆς Βουλγαρίας (1070s), see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 241, no. 3; **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 988.
11. Θεόδουλος Τριακοντάφυλλος πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s).
 - a) κρητὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῆς Βουλγαρίας (see **Μορδτμανν**, *Εὐρώπης*, σ. 145.5).
 - b) καὶ πραιτὼρ Βουλγαρίας (**Μορδτμανν**, *Εὐρώπης*, σ. 145.5).
12. Ἰωάννης Τριακοντάφυλλος (1080s);
 - a) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ προνοητῆς Βουλγαρίας (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 241, no. 4).
 - b) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ πραιτὼρ Βουλγαρίας, represented by four specimens (**Μορδτμανν**, *Εὐρώπης*, σ. 145; **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 241, no. 5; **Gray-Birch**, *Catalogue*, no. 17780/17782; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.4).
13. Γρηγόριος πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δούξ Βουλγαρίας (1080s), see **Laurent**, *RESEE*, 7, 1966, 148-150; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.2.
14. Νικήτας Καρίκης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δούξ Βουλγαρίας (1080s-1090s).
15. Ἀλέξανδρος Καβάσιλας νωβελίσσιμος /πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (1080s-1090s), see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 125.

19.1 Βασίλειος μοναχός, σύγκελλος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας (1048-?)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 15028. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 30-31 mm; field 25 mm; thickness 3 mm.

A well-preserved specimen, but imprint is incomplete.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Силистра, I, № 4.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 959.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΡΑCΙΛΕΙΩ | ΜΟΝΑΧ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.ΥΓΕΛΛ' | .ΑΝΑΓΡ' | .ΕΙΡ8Λ | .ΑΡΙΑC

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δο(ύλῳ) Βασιλείῳ μοναχ(ῷ), [σ]υγ(κ)έλλ(ω) [(καὶ)] ἀναγρ(α)[φ]εὶ Βουλ[γ]αρίας

In our publication cited here we have identified the owner with Βασίλειος ὁ Μοναχός σύγκελλος, ἡγεμὼν [προνοητής] Βουλγαρίας (1048-1053), who is known from chronicles.

The information obtained from this seal either reflects an earlier period of his career or presents one of the functions of this sovereign proxy of the emperor in the Bulgaria theme, i. e. προνοητής, which was connected with the fiscal policy.

19.2 Νικήτας Καρίκης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας (1080s)

Museum of History, Haskovo, no. 385. Found in the area of Svilengrad. D. 20.5-21 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3.1 mm.

A good imprint but on the obverse it is slightly struck off center because of the slipping of the blank. A very well-preserved specimen.

Ed. **Йорданов-Аладжов**, Хасковско, I, № 13.

Parallels: Other three specimens struck with the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections of Istanbul and Vienna (MK no. 191) (see **Μορδτμανν**, *Μολυβδόβουλλα*, αρ. 35; **Hunger**, *Zehn*, no. 9) and unpublished from **Zacos**, III, no. 1436.

Obv. Metrical inscription of five lines:

.ΡΑΦΑC | .ΦΡΑΓΙΖ | .8Δ8ΚΟC | .8ΛΓΑΡ' | ΑC

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines:

+ ΠΡΩ | ΤΩΠΡΟΕ | ΔΡ8ΝΙΚΗ | ΤΑΤ8ΚΑ | ΡΙΚΝ'

[Γ]ραφὰς [σ]φραγίζ(ω) [τ]οῦ δοῦκός [Β]ουλγαρ(ί)ας πρωτοπροέδρου Νικήτα τοῦ Καρικν

In the O'Hara collection, no. 33, a specimen is preserved that could be related to the same person.

Obv. - ο - | +ΚΕΡΟΗ|ΘΗΤΩCΩΔ|ΛΩΝΙΚΗ|ΤΑΠΠΙ|

Rev. ΚΑΙΔΟ|ΜΕCΤΙΚΩ|ΤΟΝΑ.ΑΝ|ΤΟΝΤΩΚ.|ΡΗΚΗ| - ο -

This seal generally dates to the time after the 1050s-1060s. Is the person in question the same Niketas Karykes during an earlier period of his career? According to this seal, he was δομέστικος τῶν Ἀθανάτων, i.e. commander of the elite units of the personal imperial guards, called immortals. These corps were formed by John I Tzimisce (969-976) and later on they were restored by Michael VII (1071-1078) (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 332-333).

If the person in question was Niketas Karykes, this means he was commander of the personal guards of the emperor (Michael VII?) and during a later period (when he was appointed subsequently or skipping the ranks of anthypatos, vestes, vestarches, magistros and proedros), he was honoured with the title of protoproedros and occupied the position of doux of Bulgaria.

There are two possibilities for identifying the person of Niketas Karykes:

- Niketas dux et principem Bulgarorum, well-known from the western chronicles, who met the participants in the First Crusade at Belgrade in 1096 and accompanied them to Adrianoupolis (this is the suggestion of **Златарски**, *История*, II, 224-226; **Banescu**, *Douches*, 149-150);
- the doux of Crete Καρίκης revolted in 1092-1093. He was killed when the dispatched army repressed the rebellion (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 100).

If this information is analyzed, then it seems that it is inconsistent. The person of Niketas Karykes cannot be identified as doux of Bulgaria in 1096 because of the following obstacles:

- not a single western chronicle reports the patronym of Niketas;
- the title of princeps cannot be equated with the one of protoproedros.

The seal which belonged to the protoproedros and doux of Bulgaria Niketas Karykes dates to the 1080s according to its inscription and metrical form. This makes possible his identification as the rebel Καρίκης in 1092-1093. Furthermore, other representatives of this family from the XIth century, except someone called Λέων Καρίκης πρωτοσπαθάριος, ταγματοφύλαξ καὶ στρατηγός Χιοῦ are not known, who had his own seal. Published by **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 196, no. 2, but the patronym is wrongly read. Our correction of the reading is due to W. Seibt.

19.3 Ἡσαΐας ἐπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (864-866).

In a private collection (St. Bilik, Sofia). The owner bought it in the club of the Sofia Numismatic Society. The seller claimed that the specimen was from Shoumen. Additional enquiries made it clear that it had been discovered by Vasil Vasilev from Shoumen. According to him, it had been found in the area of Smiadovo near a settlement with a basilica and necropolis from the IXth-Xth century. D. 23-26 (16) 2 mm. W. 8.45 g. Good imprint.

Ed. **Билик**, С. Моливдовул на неизвестен епископ на България от IX в. - *Проблеми на прабългарската история и археология*, 3, Шумен, 1997, 363-366; **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 132.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (Pl. I.8 = Κύριε βοήθει).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+HCAIA | ΕΠΙCΚΟΠ | ΟΡΟΝΡΓΑ | ΡΗΑC

+Κύριε βοήθει Ἡσαΐας(ς) ἐπισκόπο Βουργαρίας

The text of the seal announces the name of a hitherto unknown bishop of the Βουργαρίας diocese. Evidently it refers to Bulgaria. Other cases of consonantism and transition of ρ into λ in Greek while writing the ethnonym Βουλγάρων or the toponym Βουλγαρία are also known (see **Бешевлиев**, *Първобългарски*, № 466, 87). Especially close is the parallel with the inscription on the chalice of the joupan Sibin (contemporary with the seal) where one notices the same paleography of B=R (see **Бешевлиев**, *Първобългарски*, № 87).

The seal offers new and unknown information about the church administration in Bulgaria, which is hardly surprising.

Taking into account the paleography of the letters, the cross-like monogram and the absence of ΤΩ-CΩ || Δ8 - ΛΩ, the dating of the molybodobull should not go further than the IXth century and it is quite possible that this sphragistic monument could be dated to the middle of the same century. If we accept the text as authentic, the logic of things leads one to the following analysis.

The official conversion of Bulgaria began in 864 when a Byzantine mission headed by a bishop was sent to Bulgaria, but this act did not remain unique. The Bulgarian church structure is not known but one may guess that this country formed a new bishopric of the Constantinople patriarchate.

In 866 the Bulgarian ruler Boris I turned to the Roman church, which sent a Catholic mission. It reconfirmed the people and chased away the Greek clerics. In 870, the autocephalous status of the Bulgarian church was acknowledged and its head received the rank of archbishop, which he kept until ca. 944. Therefore, the bishopric of Bulgaria could have existed between 864 and 866. The dating to an earlier period - before 864 is hypothetical.

The owner of the seal in question Isaias was probably the first prelate of the newly converted country. Nothing is known about his personality. This name turns out to be very rare and it is not included in the lists of the bishops who took part in the councils during the IXth century.

A curious fact is that a seal has been discovered in Aphrodisia having the following text on its obverse: + HCAI | ΑΕΠΙCΚΟ | ΠΩΡ... | ΛΙΑC. Its editor considered the owner to be Ἡσαΐας ἐπισκόπῳ Βριουλίας (see **Nesbitt**, J. W. *Byzantine Lead Seals from Aphrodisias*. - *DOP*, 37, 1983, 159-164, no. 4). The latter is a bishopric subordinate to the metropolitan of Ephesus and mentioned in the diocese lists. The dating of the seal is similar to that of our molybodobull and it is still a bit later.

Two hypotheses are possible in interpreting the last part of the inscription:

- Instead of Βουλγαρίας it was somehow mistakenly written: Ρ..VΛΙΑC;
- The reading of the editor Βριουλίας is correct and refers to one and the same prelate which, after he was evicted from Bulgaria, was sent to rule the chair of Βριουλίας in Asia Minor.

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας

Two or three chronological periods are differentiated in the existence of the archbishopric of Bulgaria:

I. Covers the period of 870-944 from the establishment of the Bulgarian church having the rank of an autocephalous archbishopric to its promotion to the rank of a patriarchate. Until 893 its archbishops resided in Pliska and after that in Preslav or Dristra. The archbishop of Bulgaria was included in the rank lists of Byzantium until 934-944 and very often its titulars were by origin Greek. Because of this reason, their seals are published here although they are formally connected with the Bulgarian state.

Thus, we must address the question about the date when the patriarchal rank of the Bulgarian church was recognized. There are differences about this question. Some authors accept 927 when a peace treaty was signed between Bulgaria and Byzantium confirmed by the marriage of Mary Lacapena and the Bulgarian ruler Peter I (see **Златарски**, *История*, I. 2, с. 504; **Бакалов**, *Български владетел*, с. 119) but this claim is not supported by any arguments. Furthermore, in the so-called Tactikon of Beneshevich about the ranks in Byzantium dated between 934 and 944, the archbishop of Bulgaria is also present (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, B.245.17). It is logical to surmise, as is done by most foreign researchers, that in 944 the rank of a patriarchate was bestowed on Bulgaria (see **Seibt**, *Bulgarischen Erzbischofs*, S. 57, n. 8; **Николова**, *Българската православна църква*, 44-47). As regards the seat of the Bulgarian patriarch, there are also differences among the various scholars but most adhere to the opinion that it was in Dristra where in 971 the Byzantines found the Bulgarian patriarch.

II. This period is hypothetical. It covers the period of 971-1019 from the conquest of Eastern Bulgaria by the Byzantines until its final takeover. The analysis of some written monuments enables one to deduce that the conquered Eastern Bulgarian lands were put under the jurisdiction of a single archbishop of Bulgaria who resided in Dristra (see **Georgiev**, *Au sujet*, 123-129; **Idem**, *L'organisation religieuse*, 146-156).

III. It is connected with the final conquest of the Bulgarian lands by the Byzantines and the establishment of church administration in them. Its beginning is connected with the charters of emperor Basil II (976-1025) and the separate archbishopric of Bulgaria whose centre was Ochrid. The autocephalous Ochrid Bulgarian archbishopric, later called Justiniana Prima, existed until 1767. The list of its bishops, extracted from various written sources, is augmented or illustrated by the seals dated to the XIth-XIVth century which are published below.

According to the charters of Basil II, the archbishopric of Bulgaria covered the territory of the Bulgarian patriarchate. The new archbishopric was autonomous as regards the Constantinople patriarchate. The so-called notitia (Σύγγραμμα) of Nilus Doxopatres of 1143, compiled in 1142-1143 at the orders of the Sicilian King Roger II, says the following: "...It, the Bulgarian church, remained autocephalous and when by imperial power it was wrested from the hands of the Bulgarians, it never joined the Constantinople church. Therefore until today Cyprus and Bulgaria receive their archbishops from the basileus. But they are ordained by their own bishops, as it was said, and are called archbishops because they are independent".

Bibliography: **Gelzer**, *H. Der Patriarchat von Achrida*, Leipzig, 1902; **Снегаров**, *И. История на Охридската архиепископия*, I, София, 1995; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, 317-318; **Николова**, *Б. Устройство и управление на българската православна църква (IX-XIV в.)*, С., 1997, 44-47.

A chronological list of the Bulgarian archbishops (XIth-XIIth century)

John the monk (1018-1037);
Leo (1037-1056);
Theodulos the monk (1056-1065);
John the monk (1065-1078);
John the monk (1078-1084);
Theophylaktos of Ochrid (1084-1107);
Leon Mungos (1108-1120);
Michael (1120-1143);
Adrianos-John (1143-1156-1157);
Constantine (before 1160 - after 1170);
Anonymous (1183);
John Kamateros (after 1183 - until 1215).

19.4 Γεώργιος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (?-893).

The seals of this Bulgarian prelate are divided into two main groups:

A.

a. Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 66. Discovered during excavations in Madara in buildings on the terrace under the so-called Daul Tash. D. 23-24 (18) 3 mm. A well centred and well made imprint but the molybdo bull is badly preserved. Its upper part is holed and it probably hung from a document or it used to be worn as an icon or medallion. When it was pulled, the opening was torn and the first two lines of its inscription were damaged.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 133.

b. Institute of Archaeology, Shumen, no. 70. Discovered on May 13th, 1975 during excavations of the Great Basilica in Pliska, sector North, sq. 162, depth 0.70 m. D. 21.5-22.5 (18) 3.5 mm. A very good imprint and a well-preserved molybdo bull.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 134.

c. Institute of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 71. Discovered on May 12th, 1975 during excavations of the Great Basilica in Pliska, sector North, sq. 179, depth 0.80 m. D. 19.8-22.5 (18) 3 mm. It was probably a good imprint in the past but now the molybdo bull is badly preserved. It was broken in two parts which were stuck together during the conservation.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 135.

d. Institute of Archaeology, Shoumen. Discovered in the summer of 1990 in Pliska in the area of the Great Basilica or, to be more precise, 35 m east of the northeastern corner of the monastery fence. D. 20-20 (18) 3-4 mm. W. 9.5 g. Incomplete imprint. Made a little upward, owing to which parts of the inscription on the reverse and obverse have remained outside the blank.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 136.

e. Place of storage and origin unknown. According to information from Vl. Penchev from the National Museum of History in Sofia, a molybdo bull of this dignitary was offered in 1990 to the evaluation committee of his museum but after a dispute about the price its owner retracted it.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 137.

f. Kept in a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Origin unknown, generally from Pliska-Preslav. D. 25-25 (18) 3 mm. A well-centred and well-preserved imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 140.

g. A molybdo bull of George, archbishop of Bulgaria, was sold at the auction of Dieter Gorny GmbH, Munchen, 96, 7. Juni 1999 under no. 704. D. 23 mm. W. 8.62 g.

Ed. Dieter Gorny GmbH, Munchen, 96, 7. Juni 1999, no. 704.

h. Kept in a private collection (V. Pantelev, Varna). Findspot - uncertain. D. 13-23 mm. A half of the specimen is missing.

Unpublished.

i. Kept in a private collection (M. Gospodinov, Shoumen). Findspot - uncertain. D. 22-23 (20) 3 mm. A well-centred and well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Other two copies are kept in the collections of the Athens Museum of Numismatics (**Konstantopoulos**, *Stamuly*, no. 77) and the Fogg Art Museum, no. 5 (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.5).

All eleven copies were imprinted with the same boulloterion.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ before her. To l. and r., a small cross. No sigla. Circular inscription along circumference:

+ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔ8ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines.

+ΓΕΩ | ΡΓΙΩΑΡΧ | ΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠ | ΩΡΟΝΑΓΑ | ΡΙΑC

+Θ(εοτόκ)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βουλγαρίας

B.

a. Kept in a private collection (G. Galabov, Sofia). Probably originated from Pliska. D. 29-29 (24) 5 mm. W. 17.05 g. A masterfully centred imprint. The border of the blank was additionally cut with a sharp knife in order to receive a correct round form.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 141.

b. Kept in a private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). According to its owner, it was discovered on the bank of the dam near the village of Ovcharovo, region of Turgovishte where, in fact, the northern wall of the fortress was situated. D. 27-29.5 (26) 4 mm. The imprint was good in the past, although some letters have remained outside the blank, but later it was strongly damaged.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 142.

Parallels: A third specimen imprinted with the same bulloterion has been found at Castel Hill near to Zalavar in Hungary. See Paradisum plantavit. Benedectine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary. Exhibition at the Benedictine Archabbey of Panonhalma, 21 March-11 November 2001. Ed. by Takacs Imre. Panonhalma, 2001, p. 61.

Obv. The Virgin standing frontally, holding Christ in her l. arm. No sigla. Circular inscription along the dotted border:

+ΘΕΤΟΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔ8ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΓΕΩ | ΡΓΙΩΡΧ | ΗΕΠΙCΚΟ | ΠΩΡΟΝΑ | ΓΑΡΙΑC

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βουλγαρίας

It is evident that the two groups of sphragistic monuments belong to an identical person - George, archbishop of Bulgaria.

The seals of this Bulgarian prelate became first known via the Madara find. Over the last 70 years, their interpretation underwent several significant corrections which concern their dating and the ethnic identity of this prelate. Two diametrically opposed opinions emerged:

a) dating them to the last quarter of the IXth century and connecting them with a Bulgarian archbishop whose seat was in Pliska;

b) dating them after 971 and connecting them with the person of a Byzantine archbishop of Bulgaria after its conquest by the Byzantines.

During the past 80 years, both the hypotheses and molybdobulls found grew in number which enabled more correct dating and attribution to a specific political period.

The iconographic, paleographic and archaeological evidence of the seals leads to the conclusion that the owner of the seal who affixed them on his correspondence to Madara, Pliska, Constantinople, Greece, was one of the first Bulgarian archbishops in the late IXth century. He could be identified as the Bulgarian bishop George, mentioned several times in the letters of Pope John VIII, who ordained a certain Sergius as Bishop of Belgrade.

The second group of seals which have a different iconographic subject offer new evidence about this Bulgarian prelate.

Interesting is the observation that both groups followed an iconographic subject of the Constantinople patriarch Photius (December 858 - 25th September 867; 26 October 877 - 29th September 886) and his successor. This was probably due to political motives and is a proof of recognition of supremacy of the Constantinople patriarchate and loyalty to it. During the first stage of patriarch Photius' career (858-867), his seals featured an image of the Virgin Hodeghetria in full-length while those made during his second patriarchate (877-886) show a bust of the Virgin holding the Child in front of her (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, nos. 7a-b)

What is the chronological range of the seals of George?

He became archbishop of Bulgaria in 878 at the earliest, according to a letter by Pope John VIII, and the same effigy featured on the seals of Photius from the 877-886 period, i.e. a bust of the Virgin, is present on his seals as well.

In 886 Photius was brought down from the patriarchal throne and Stephanos, brother of emperor Leo VI (18th December 886 - 17/18 May 893) was installed in his place. On the patriarchal seals he restored the image of the Virgin Hodeghetria in full-length holding the Child on the left (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, nos. 8a-b). On the basis of the second group of seals of George, archbishop of Bulgaria, one can deduce that this iconographic subject was adopted in Bulgaria as well. Therefore, the first group should be dated to 877-886 and the second one - after 886. The Bulgarian archbishop affixed the latter seals to his correspondence for a short period which is confirmed by their small number. One should not forget that in 889, Bulgaria had a new ruler - Vladimir-Rasate. He attempted a sharp turn in the political and religious orientation of Bulgaria and a Bulgarian prelate who followed strictly the Byzantine church policy was unwanted.

Therefore the first group of seals is dated to 877-886 and the second one to 886-889.

Interesting is the range of diffusion of the seals of this Bulgarian prelate: Pliska - 4, Madara - 1, the village of Ovcharovo - 1, Constantinople - 1, Athens - 1.

Of special interest is the find of a molybdobul in Zalavar in Hungary. If it had been found in its natural true surroundings, it would be evidence for contacts between the Pliska archbishop George

and the Moravian archbishop Methodius or his pupils who later arrived in Pliska. This view is developed in an article by Imre Tot (Pismo do Metodii, *Bulgarski Pisatel*, 27, Sept. 18, 2002, p. 10). Unfortunately I cannot establish with certainty that the seal was found in its true natural surroundings. After long and fruitless attempts to locate authentic information on the circumstances regarding the discovery of this seal, I accidentally met Anna Kuznetsova from the Institute for Slavic Studies in Moscow, a graduate of the University of Budapest. She had participated in archaeological excavations in Zalavar. She contacted her Hungarian associates and according to them, the molybdobul was presented by a villager who claimed he had found it in the fortress. I.e. once again we cannot trust the information regarding the authenticity of the seal and whether it was found in its natural surroundings. And in this case too, I wonder whether we may be dealing with an attempt to legalize a find from Bulgaria or its copy in an archaeological artefact.

19.5 Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (second half of the XIth century).

Private possession. I learnt about it from Al. Peykov from Veliko Turnovo. The molybdobull was found somewhere in the district of Haskovo. D. 25-26 mm.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Three specimens are kept in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.5308; Fogg 1053; DO 55.1.4701).

They probably originate from Istanbul. A fourth copy was offered at Auction Hirsch (Munich, 186, 10-12.05. 1995, no. 1642). Dr Peter Prohaska from the National Museum of History in Budapest informed me about a fifth specimen found in Esztergom. I wonder whether this may be a case of legalizing of a find from Bulgaria on its way to Europe.

Obv. The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne with a round cushion, holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | $\overline{I\Omega}$ MONAX' | SAPXIEPIC | ΚΠΩΠACH' | Ρ8ΛΓΑΡ'

+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ) Ἰω(άννη) μοναχ(ῷ) (καὶ) ἀρχιεπισκ(ό)πῳ πάση(ς) Βουλγαρ(ίας)

It is difficult to be specific about whom this seal belonged to. As is correctly noted by the editors of the specimens from Dumbarton Oaks (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.6), during the XIth century there is information on at least three men called John who were archbishops of Bulgaria. Aside from the two included in our list, they also add the last Bulgarian patriarch before the conquest of Bulgaria by the Byzantines - John, also called David, whose rank was lowered by Basil II to archbishop.

19.6 Κωνσταντῖνος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (second half of the XIIth c.)

In a private collection (I. Yotov from Yambol). Uncertain provenance but it is suggested that it comes from southeastern Bulgaria. D. of the fragment 16-34 mm which is smaller than a quarter of a formerly brilliant imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 410. Imprinted with the same bulloterion as our specimen.

Obv. Part of the Annunciation scene. Part of the figure of Archangel Gabriel who approaches the Virgin seated on a throne.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

. |ΛΕΩ |ΕΠΙC |CHC |AC |HC | |

[+ Κων(σταντῖνος) ἐ]λέω [Θ(εο)ῦ ἀρχι]επί[σκοπος πά]σης [Βουλγαρί]ας [ἦ]τοι
πρώτ]ης [Ἰουστινιανῆς]

Who is this archbishop?

At least two prelates of Bulgaria are known by the same name:

Constantine (I): Appointed by emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) as archbishop of Bulgaria. He participated in a meeting of the Synod in 1170 (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, nos 1109, 1112, 1116).

Constantine (II) Cabasilas. He was born in Illyria. Before occupying the Ochrid throne, he was Bishop of Strumitza and later metropolitan of Dyrrachion. In this capacity he received 29 canonical answers from Demetrius Chomatianos about questions tabled by himself. It is not known exactly

when he became archbishop of Bulgaria and Prima Justiniana but it is accepted that this happened during the reign of Emperor Theodore II Lascaris (1256-1258) (**Снегаров, Охрид**, I, c. 211; Papadopoulos attributes to him a decision of the Ochrid archbishopric dated to the 8th indiction and thinks that he was enthroned around 1250, see: *Ἱερουλ. Σταχ.*, 474). Emperor Theodore II Lascaris arrested the Archbishop of Ochrid Constantine Cabasilas because he suspected him of sympathy to the Despot of Epirus Michael II (**Akropolites**, Migne, 140, col. 1196). When Michael VIII became emperor, he liberated Constantine Cabasilas and allowed him to take his seat again (**Снегаров, Охрид**, I, c. 157).

When choosing an owner, there is a greater probability to connect the seal with Constantine (I) from the XIIth century when the title of the Bulgarian Archbishop also included πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς.

19.7 Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (XIVth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Plovdiv, no. 583. The inventory book notes that it was found in Ochrid but bought in Thessalonica and became property of the Plovdiv Museum of Archaeology in 1914. D. 41-43 (35) 5.5 mm. Probably it was a good imprint in the past but it is now in a pitiful state. It has almost degenerated because of corrosion. Ed.: There are some inaccuracies in the various publications: **Иванов, БСМ**, c. 37, № 6; **Petrovic, J.** Olovni pecat Grugura nadbiskupa Justiniane prime i ciele Bugarske.- *Glasnik Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja*, 1941, 25-29; **Laurent, Corpus**, V.2, no. 1498 [he notes that it was part of the Petrovic collection in Zagreb and is now in the Museum of Archaeology in Sofia, which is clearly wrong].

No parallels known.

Obv. The Annunciation. The left half shows the figure of Archangel Michael in half-face and turned to the left. He has a nimbus and wings which barely touch the ground. With his left hand he holds a sceptre on his shoulder and he extends his right one as a sign of greeting to the Virgin, who occupies the right half of the seal. She is turned half way to the right and sits on a throne. The whole image is surrounded by a dotted circle.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΓΡΗΓΟ | ΡΙΟΣΕΛΕΩΘῚ | ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠ | ΟΣΤΗΣΠΡΩΤΗΣ | ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΗΣ |
ΚΑΙΠΑΧΗΣΒ | 8ΑΓΑΡ
+ Γρηγόριος ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης
Βουλγαρίας)

While attempting to identify the owner of the seal with any of the Bulgarian archbishops, one faces the difficulty that more than one person has this name (two from the XIVth century and one from the XVIth century).

Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (I)

His name is mentioned in a metrical brick inscription on the western facade of St. Sophia's church in Ochrid dated to 1317. The four monograms from the ambo of the same church offer the following inscription: Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγάρ(ων sic!) (**Иванов, БСМ**, 34-35; **Снегаров, Охрид**, I, c. 231, №1).

According to John Cantacuzenos, Archbishop Gregory was an eloquent, wise and educated person. In 1326 he was entrusted with a special mission by emperor Andronicus II Paleologus during the rebellion of his grandson (**Cantacuzene**, I, 46 (266.11). Three letters of Michael Gabras dated to 1327 have survived addressed to: τῷ χρηματίσαντι ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βουλγαρίας κυρῷ Γρηγορίῳ (**Gabras, Briefe**, nos. 103, 112, 447)

He did not die while in office in Ochrid. It is suggested that he left his throne before the end of the reign of Andronicus II Paleologus, i.e. before 1328 (**Laurent, Corpus**, V.1, p. 326). After that date he is known to have endowed a monastery in Constantinople which became dependent on the Vatopedi monastery in 1347 when Gregory was already dead (**Dölger, Schatzkammern**, 120-123).

A dedication to Gregory by Theodore Metochites has survived from the time when the archbishop had already left his seat (*Byzantion*, 3, 1926, p. 267).

Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (II)

His name is mentioned for the first time in a dated inscription (1364-1365) above the door to the northern wing of St. Clement's cathedral in Ochrid where there was a chapel named after St. Gregory

the Theologian. His title is: Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς (**Иванов, БСМ**, c. 39, № 9).

He was invited by the Constantinople patriarch St. Philotheus Kokkinos to take part in a church council. On this occasion Gregory wrote him a statement against church union with the Roman Catholics (**Снегаров, Охрид**, I, c. 342, 6.3). His name is mentioned in a chapter of the Despotēs Uglesha regarding a dispute between the Zograph monastery and David, Bishop of Hierissos (**Снегаров, Охрид**, I, c. 342, 6.1).

The last evidence about him dates from July 1378 in an inscription over the southern door of the small Ochrid church in the Bolnitsa neighbourhood. His title is: Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Βουλγαρίας (**Иванов, БСМ**, c. 42, № 17).

Γρηγόριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας (III)

He is only known by his signature on a parchment in Greek which is not exactly dated but which, according to scholars, is from the XVIth century and its dating is 1537 or 1590. His deciphered signature contains the following: + Ἐλέω Θεοῦ πάσης Βουλγαρίας καὶ τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς Ἀκριδῶν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γρηγόριος (**Иванов, БСМ**, c. 41, № 15; **Снегаров, Охрид**, II, c. 188).

It is problematic to attribute the molybdobul to one of the three archbishops called Gregory. Its previous publishers exclude dating to the 16th century which may not be so categorical because this type of seal, as well as the patriarchal ones, preserve one and the same text and iconographic subject for a long time. It is doubtful whether the third Gregory existed (it is hardly incidental that he was excluded from the list of archbishops of Bulgaria compiled by Geltzer and has been taken into account by Laurent).

While contemplating the possibility of choice between the two XIVth century men called Gregory, it seems that the arguments are in favour of the latter. His title almost coincides with that of the seal and, as Fr. Laurent commented, the title ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς was introduced by the princely archbishop John (Adrianos) Komnenos but it was later dropped in order to be taken up again after the mid-XIVth century (**Laurent, Corpus**, V.2, 326-327).

In view of these arguments, it is interesting to know why the author preferred Gregory (I).

20. Βρύσεως

The archbishop of Brysis for the first time was represented at the church council of 879. He was directly subordinate to the Constantinople church. Some difficulty in analyzing the written sources about it is the fact that at some point (during the XIIth century) the sources announce μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη Βρύσεως. The former is an archbishopric and the latter is a bishopric.

Bibliography: **Asdracha**, Thrace, 241-242, 286-287.

20.1 Νικηφόρος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βρύσεως (Xth-XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22187. D. 19-22 (16) 2.1 mm. W. 5.90 g. Unsuccessful imprint, parts of the blank are missing. The molybdobull has been holed by corrosion.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 387.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (Pl. I.4); in the quarters: ΤΩ-ΘΩ || Δ8-Λ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+..ΚΙ | Φ..ΟΑ. | ΧΙΕΠΙC. | .ΠΟΡΡ. | CΕΟ'
+ Θεοτόκ)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ[ω Νι]κιφ[όρ]ο ἀ[ρ]χιεπισ[κό]πο Βρ[ύ]σεο(ς)

21. Δαφνί

A monastery and church with this name, devoted to the Assumption is located 10 km from Athens in a small gorge above the so-called Holy Way. We have evidence from the V-VIth century of the existence of some kind of Christian religious structure at that spot, but the monastery is first attested in the *Life* of St. Meletios the Younger (died ca. 1105) and may well have existed earlier - at the end of the XIth century.

21.1 Ἡ Θεοτόκος τὸ Δαφνίν (XI-XII c.)

In a private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 15-15 (14.5) 4 mm. W. 4.7 g. Despite its small size, the core is well formed and the seal is almost full, and the lines of the text are underlined, something rarely encountered in practice.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Other five specimens from the same boulloterion are kept in: Vienna, no. 93; Athens, nos. 183 and 183a; Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.5216 and 55.1.5056). See: Laurent, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 1244; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 2, no. 11.1.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion of Christ before her. On either side titles: $\bar{M} \parallel \bar{\Theta}$.
Border of dots:

Rev. Inscription of three lines, a cross above and a decoration below:

- + - | ΗΘΚΟC | ΤΟΔΑ | ΦΝΙΝ

+ Ἡ Θεοτόκος τὸ Δαφνίν

It would be interesting to learn to whom the correspondence from the Daphni Monastery and church was sent in northeastern Bulgaria at the time.

22. Δεβελτός

This city was a successor to the Roman Colonia Flavia Deultum. From the time of emperor Justinian I (527-565) Develtos was included within the boundaries of the Hemimont province. Its significance increased largely after the establishment of the Bulgarian state. It was one of the Byzantine strongholds and bases rebuffing the Bulgarian campaigns against Constantinople. There was a garrison and the city was the main centre of an administrative and military structure. According to sphragistic evidence, Develtos was ruled by an archon.

After the devastating campaign of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus (802-811) against Bulgaria which ended catastrophically for the Byzantines and the emperor himself, a counter offensive of the Bulgarians followed.

In the spring of 812 the Bulgarian Khan Krum (803-814) undertook a general campaign. The first strike was directed at the nearest boundary city of Develtos which he captured after besieging it for a short time. The residents of the city and its bishop George were taken captives and deported to the Bulgarian lands. The Byzantine garrison headed by the archon Gregoras came over to the side of the Bulgarians. They were probably included in the left flank of the Bulgarian army commanded by the kaukhanos Irtais.

After the death of Khan Krum, his successor Khan Omurtag (814-831) signed in 815-816 the Bulgarian-Byzantine 30-year treaty which set up the boundaries and the institutions concerning them. Until then (815-816) the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations (commercial and diplomatic) had been served by the commercia of Messembria (τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσιμβρία). But after the signing of the peace treaty, the aforementioned commercia was moved to the inner area of Bulgaria. Develtos became a mediator in Bulgarian-Byzantine relations because of its location at the intersection of sea and land routes.

The border was the bed of the Sredetzka River. On Byzantine territory a new commercia had been established as proven by the archaeological and sphragistic data. Its name was Δεβελτός Ρομανίας, according to Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, p. 172, in contradiction to the Bulgarian Develtos. This is reasonable to a certain extent, all the more that so since toponym is inscribed on several seals which belonged to the commerciaros of Develtos. But it is necessary to remember that only a Byzantine commercia is attested by the archaeological and sphragistic data. It is just an assumption that there were Bulgarian commercia but their name and location are yet unknown.

Three stages of development and activities of the commercia could be outlined on the basis of the seals found there: the first one, from 815-816 to the 840s; the second one, from the 850s to 913-917; the third one is the XIth century.

The areas and the buildings of the commercia from the first and the second periods are already known.

Seals bearing the toponym Δεβελτός:

- ἄρχων: Γρηγόριος β' σπαθάριος καὶ ἄρχων Δεβελτοῦ (see Панченко, Каталог, № 389; Йорданов, *Девелт*, III.1).
- ἐπίσκοπος: Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπίσκοπος Δεβελτοῦ (see Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 429).
- βασιλικά κομμέρκια Δεβελτοῦ (832-833).
- κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ.

First period (from 815-816 to 840s):

- Βασιλικά κομμέρκια Δεβελτοῦ (832-833);
- Κοσμάς κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (830s);
- Χριστοφόρος β' κανδιδάτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (830s-840s).

Second and third period (from the 850s to the XIth century):

I find great difficulty in arranging chronologically the seals of this group and the next one from the years of Byzantine domination. Therefore I shall first present those which are clearly dated to the second half of the IXth century and then, I shall present the rest of the Xth century according to the alphabetical list of the names of the owners, and lastly those dated to the Xth-XIth century which should belong to the third period.

- Γρηγόριος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (second half of the IXth century), see Mordmann, *Εὐρώπης*, no. 16; Zacos, *Seals*, II, no. 159 bis; Йорданов, *Девелт*, 26-27.3.
- Δαβίδ β' σπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (877-893), see below.
- N., σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (IXth-Xth century), see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 76.2; Йорданов, *Девелт*, 27-28. 5.
- Εὐστράτιος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth century), see below.
- Θεόγνωστος β' σπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (IXth-Xth century), see Шандровская, *Девелта*, 149-150, M-6066.
- Θεόδωρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἐξάκτωρ, χαρτουλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθετοῦ καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth century), see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 76.1; Йорданов, *Девелт*, c. 30. 10.
- Ἰωάννης κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ Ρομανίας (Xth century), see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 113, no. 2; Йорданов, *Девелт*, 29-30. 8; Шандровская, *Девелта*, c. 152, M-8456.
- Ἰωάννης ? ἀσηκρήτης ? καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth century), see below.
- Μιχαήλ σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth century), see Шандровская, *Девелта*, 152-153, M-8834.
- N., κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth century), see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 113, no. 1; Йорданов, *Девелт*, c. 30. 9; Шандровская, *Девелта*, c. 152, M-7652.
- Βασίλειος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth-XIth century), see below.
- Ἰωάννης N., καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth-XIth century), see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 113, no. 3; Йорданов, *Девелт*, c. 29.7; Шандровская, *Девелта*, 150-151, M-8834.
- N., N., κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth-XIth century), see Шандровская, *Девелта*, 148-149, M-321.
- Κωνσταντῖνος Συροπουλος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth-XIth century), see below.

Bibliography: The information about Develtos and the archaeological excavations carried out there, as well as the list of the dignitaries who headed various departments and resided there are presented in the general review of Йорданов, *Девелт*, 1-33; Дамянов, С. Таможенный центр XI в. в районе Дебелта. Предварительное сообщение. - *Bulgaria Pontica medii aevi. Nessebre*, 1985. София, 1992, 247-251; Dimitrov, Chr. Die Frühmittelalterliche Stadt Develtos zwischen Byzanz und Bulgarien vom achten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert. - *Schriften der Balkan-Kommission. Antiquarische Abteilung*, Wien, 18, 1992, 35-45; Шандровская, *Девелта*, 148-153.

22.1 Τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Δεβελτός (832-833)

Archaeological base, Develt, no. 205. Found during archaeological excavations in sector A-I, sq. 11. D. 15-25 mm; field 22.5 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. A half probably from an originally well-imprinted specimen.

Ed. Йорданов, *Девелт*, № 53.

Parallels: Zacos, *Seals*, I, nos. 285 a-b. All specimens come from the same boulloterion. We recovered the inscription of our half by using these specimens.

Obv. Visible is half of the bust of emperor Theophilus facing and wearing a crown, divitision and loros. Inscription beneath: = Ἰνδικτιων ια' (indiction 11). Along border of dots circular inscription|| BAS... [Θεόφιλος] βασιλεὺς

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ T.. | B'KOM... | KIΩN... | EA..
+ T[ων] βασιλικῶν κομ[μερ]κίων [Δεβ]ελ[τοῦ]

22.2 Κοσμάς κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (830s-840s).

Archaeological base, Develt, no. 276. Found during archaeological excavations in the area of the commercia, sector A-II, sq. 73 in house no. 1. D. 24-26 mm; field 26 mm; thickness 3.1 mm. W. 12.56 g. The imprint was originally excellent and now the specimen is well preserved but one edge was damaged by a pick strike during the excavations.

Ed. Йорданов, *Девелт*, № 54.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3). In the quarters: TΩ-CΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+KOC | MAK8M.. | KIPAIΩΔE | REAT'
+Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κοσμά κομμερκιάριῳ Δεβελτ(οῦ)

22.3. Χριστοφόρος β'κανδιδατος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (830s-840s).

In a private collection (Dr. D. Theodoridis from Munchen). It probably originates from the commercia. D. 25-26 (23-24) mm. The imprint on the obverse is not complete. The blank has slipped in the bulloterion. The molybdo-bul has been perfectly preserved.

Ed. Wassiliou-Kyriaki, *Neue Siegel*, no. 1.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: TΩ-CΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

....CTO | .OPWB'KAN | ΔΙΑ'SKOMΕ | ΔΕΒΕΛΤ'
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ [Χρ]ιστο[φ]όρῳ β'κανδιδ(άτῳ) (καὶ) κομμερκ(ι)άριῳ] Δεβελτ(οῦ)

22.4 Δαυὶδ β'σπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (870-893)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 321. Found in 1985 during archaeological excavations of the Great Basilica in the town of Pliska, sector north, second northern courtyard. D. 21-22 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. The specimen is badly preserved and dissolved along the line of the channel. Struck off-centre probably because of the loosened bulloterion.

Ed. Йорданов, *Плиска*, № 12; Йорданов, *Девелт*, VI.4.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Circular inscription between two borders of dots:

+ KEROHΘHTΩCΩΔOYΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΔΑΔΡ' | CΠΑΘΑΡ. | .KOVME | P...P'ΔE | ..ΛT8
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δα(υὶ)δ βασιλικῷ σπαθαρχ[ί]ῳ [(καὶ)] κομμερκ(ι)άρ(ι)ῳ Δεβελτ(οῦ)

In the area of the commercia Develtos a specimen has been found which belonged to Δαβὶδ β' πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν who was probably its former ruler (see Йорданов, *Девелт*, 39-40.8).

The seal of Δαβὶδ β'σπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (870-893), found in Pliska, has affixed his correspondence intended to an unknown addressee from the chancellery of the Bulgarian archbishop or perhaps to the archbishop himself, and thus he had been informed about some consignment or emissary.

22.5 Εὐστράτιος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (X century).

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 14718. Find-spot uncertain. D. 17-20 (17) 2.5 mm. A complete and well-preserved specimen.

Ed. Йорданов, *Девелт*, Addenda et corrigenda, no. I.7.

Parallels: Mordtmann, *Εὐρώπης*, no.17; Barnea, I. Sceaux byzantins de Dobroudja, *SBS*, 1, p. 82, no. 5. They have been imprinted by the same bulloterion as our copy.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

ΘΚΕΡ' | Θ'ΤΩCΩ | Δ8'ΕV | CTPAT'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ K8ME|PKA'P' ΔE|REAT'IN |ΔΙΚΔ| - o -
= Θ(εοτό)κε βο(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ῳ Εὐστρατ(ί)ῳ κομμερκ(ι)άρ(ι)ῳ Δεβελτ(οῦ)
Ἰνδικ(τι)ων δ'

My previous publication recognized that it referred to someone called Εὐστράτιος Δικαῖος from the XIth century. He is attested by three molybdo-bulls. The first two were published as early as 1886 by Mordtmann. The publications of this author lack illustrations or at least there is a drawing. The third specimen is of poor quality, it was discovered in Northern Dobrudja and it was published by Ion Barnea. I agreed with the readings made before me.

But in 1998 I had the opportunity to examine the specimens from the Mordtmann collection kept in the Numismatic Cabinet in Vienna. A fourth copy was recently found in Bulgaria.

When checking the text of the specimens seen by me, I established that the family name is not Δικαῖος but in fact is written on the seal: Ἰνδικ(τι)ων δ'. Using appropriate calculations, one can suggest a more concrete dating within the Xth century.

22.6 Ἰωάννης? ἀσηκρήτης? καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (XIth century)

Museum of History, Yambol, no. II 3861. Found during archaeological excavations of the medieval stronghold near the village of Karavelovo, district of Yambol, sq. 27 on October 7th, 1983. D. 18-19 mm; field over 18 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, badly damaged. Holed and perhaps secondarily used as a weight. Surface quite effaced. Visible are only some of the letters or their contours. The deciphering of the inscription is problematic.

Ed. Йорданов, *Девелт*, VI.6.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+KΕR . | | CΩΔ8..

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

.Ω... | | ΜΕ.. | ΔΕΡ..
+Κ(ύρι)ε βο(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ῳ Ἰω(άνν)η [ἀσηκρήτ]η (καὶ) κομμερκ(ι)άρ(ι)ῳ Δεβελτ(οῦ)]

22.7 Βασίλειος ? κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (XIth century)

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 13587. Offered for purchase by N. Georgiev from Shoumen who provided information that the specimen was found in Silistra. D. 25-26 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 4 mm. Incomplete imprint and badly preserved specimen.

Ed. Йорданов, *Девелт*, VI.11. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: O-A-ΓI-O || .-.-M'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.ACI | .EIO.. | .EPKIA | ΔΕΡΕΛ | -T8 -
[B]ασι[λ]εί[ω] [κομ]μερκ(ι)άρ(ι)ῳ Δεβελτ(οῦ)

22.8 Κωνσταντῖνος Συρόπουλος σπαθαροκανδιδατος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (Xth-XIth centuries)

a. In a private collection (a plaster cast from the collection of Prof. T. Gerassimov). On the reverse it is noted that the original was owned by Dr. V. Haralanov from Shoumen. Probable find-spot: Silistra (from where most seals in

the collection of Dr. Haralanov come). D. 17-20 mm; field over 20 mm. Incomplete imprint. Blank too small for die.

- b. Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 12389. Offered for purchase by Al. Boev from Silistra. D. 19-20 mm; field over 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. It may be assumed that this specimen is the same as the former one but it is just quite similar to it. Incomplete imprint. Many letters are out of the blank.
- c. Museum of History, Pomorie. Found in the city area. Offered for documentation by the curator of the museum on June 14th, 1989 during my stay in the city of Burgas. D. 22-23 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. Weakly imprinted. Struck off-centre. Many letters are out of the blank.
- d. In a private collection (Ivan Yotov from Yambol). Find-spot: probably somewhere in the region. Most of the seals of this collection are from the stronghold near the village of Melnitza, district of Elhovo or from the village of Zlati voivoda, district of Sliven. D. 20-21 mm. Incomplete imprint.
- e. In a private collection (Vurban Vurbanov from Elhovo). Delivered to the National Museum of History in Sofia by the police. Most of the seals of this collection are from the stronghold near the village of Melnitza, district of Elhovo. D. 21-22 mm. Incomplete imprint.
- f. In a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Before being sold it was given to us. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-18.5 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. The imprint is incomplete like the latter specimens. Some of the letters are out of the blank.
- g. In a private collection (coll. of N. Nikolov from Razgrad, now in the collection of Regional Museum of History in Shoumen). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-20 mm. Incomplete imprint like the specimens mentioned above.
- h. In a private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-21 mm. W. 6.60 g. Incomplete imprint like the specimens mentioned above.

The eight specimens are struck by the same die. They are preserved to a different extent and the quality of their imprints is poor.

Ed. a-c: Йорданов, *Девелт*, VI.12 (1-3); d-h: Йорданов, *Addenda et corrigenda*, I.17.

Parallels: Шандровская, *Девельта*, с. 150, М-6141. Imprinted by another boulloterion.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+KON | CTANT | ΠΑΘΑΡ | ΚΑΝΔΔ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

SKOMΕ .| ΚΗΑΡΙ'ΔΕ | .ΕΛΤ'ΟCΥ | ..Π8Λ'

+Κωνσταντ(ίνος) σπαθαρο(ο)κανδ(ι)δ(ᾶτος) (καὶ) κομε[ρ]κηάρι(ος) Δε[β]ελτ(οῦ) ὁ Συ[ρό]πουλ(ος)

The presence of the seals of commerciaria of Develtos in Dristra during XIth century (as in the above-mentioned cases) looks quite natural. At this time Dristra was a residence of the catepanate of Paristrion and boundary city of the empire, and it facilitated the imperial contacts with the countries north of the Danube. It is noteworthy however that there were seals of this commerciaria along the former Bulgarian-Byzantine frontier line. The wide distribution of the seals of Constantine Syropoulos proves the activity of the commerciaria during that period.

23. Δοροστόλου / Δρίστρας

Dristra or Dorostolon (modern Silistra on the Danube). It was a strategic administrative and economic centre of the Bulgarian state, as well as of Byzantium after the conquest of Bulgaria. But concrete information is rather scanty.

The name of the strategeia of Dristra was twice reported in the Escorial Tactic (975) and in 1017 with reference to the letter of the strategos of Dorostolon Tzotzikios, son of the patrician Teudatos the Iberian, concerning the alliance between Krakra and the Pechenegs (Skylitzes, 356.27-28).

The situation of the sources increases the significance of the sphragistic evidence related to the history of this city.

Two groups of sphragistic materials could be established:

A) seals bearing the toponym Δοροστόλου / Δρίστρας

a) κατεπάνω Δρίστρας:

1. Λέων Δρύμις ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Δρίστρας (1050-?), according to his lead seal from Auction Münz Zentrum, Köln, 100, 8-10 Sept. 1999, no. 105.
2. Κωνσταντῖνος Ν., πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Δρίστρας ? (1030s-1040s), according to his lead seals from Fogg A. M. no. 3400 (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 65.1).

b) στρατηγός:

3. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Δοροστόλου, see below.
4. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου, see below.
5. Βασίλενης / Βασίλακης? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Δρίστρας, see below.
6. Δαβίδ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας, see below.
7. Θεόδωρος πριμικήριος καὶ στρατηγός Δρίστρας, see below.
8. Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Δρίστρας, see below.

c) κομμερκιάριος:

9. Ἀνδρόνικος β' σπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας, see below.
10. Διονύσιος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας, see below.
11. Ἰωάννης κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας, see below.
12. Ἰωάννης Σπονδύλης κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 65.2).

B) The Byzantine lead seals found in Dristra:

Over 230 seals found in the town of the Silistra. They illustrate the other side of the every day life of the city; the institutions and persons who wrote to the local representatives of the administration that exercised the policy of the empire, see Jordanov, I. The Byzantine Administration in Dobrudja (Xth-XIth century) According to Sphragistic Data.- *Dobrudja*, 12, 1995, 1998, 204-224.

The comparison between the information obtained from the sphragistic data and from other narrative sources enables one to define the following scheme, chronology and transformations of this administrative centre:

After the conquest of the city by the Byzantines in July or August 971, its former name of Dorostolon was restored and Leon Sarakenopulos was appointed as its first strategos. At some point which cannot be exactly defined, Leon Sarakenopulos sent at least two letters to Preslav (Ioannoupolis) and an administrative reorganisation took place. The cities of Ioannoupolis and Dorostolon were united and as strategos of this new unit Leon Sarakenopulos was appointed again. Although the main city was Ioannoupolis, its strategos resided in Dorostolon. Only thus could the receipt in Ioannoupolis of more than 20 letters of his be satisfactorily explained. The strategeia of Dorostolon, as well as the newly unit of Ioannoupolis and Dorostolon, were under command of doux of Thrace and Mesopotamia which is known only from sphragistic evidence (see here no. 35.14).

At the time mentioned by the Escorial Tactic (?-975), a new administrative transformation was implemented. The city of Ioannoupolis was included in Thrace and Dristra was given an independent status.

This administrative order was probably maintained until 986 when the Byzantine domination was eliminated.

What the administrative structure was after the recapturing of Eastern Bulgaria in the year 1000 is unknown. The Danube River became the permanent frontier of Byzantium and this fact practically meant that the katepanate of Mesopotamia did not yet exist. Dristra was transformed into a strategic centre of the border military-administrative unit. Undoubtedly, the strategeias Ioannoupolis (Preslav) and Dristra were again restored but one may pose the question: which one replaced the katepanate Mesopotamia? And what was this big military unit that unified the above-mentioned strategeias? Probably it was the dukedom of Adrianoupolis south of the Haemus mountain and the unit of Thrace and Dristra north of it whose strategos was the protospatharios David known from his seals.

It could be assumed that after the year 1000, the administrative and military structure of present Eastern Bulgaria was temporary until the final conquest. The traditional administrative and military centres became heads of strategeias (Preslav and Dristra) and they were subordinate directly to the emperor.

A lasting administrative reorganization took place after 1018 when, according to some researchers, all conquered Bulgarian lands were united in a single administrative unit called Bulgaria (see Златарски, *История*, II, 1-12), but, according to others, the Bulgarian lands were divided into several administrative units. Some territories were included in the old Byzantine themes while others entered the newly established catepanates of Bulgaria and Paristrion (see Литаврин, *България и Византия*, 195-215; Божилов-Гюзелев, *История*, 344-364).

The evidence of the seals introduces some corrections in these hypotheses but at the same time they create a number of problems and contradictions with the sources.

Let us pose the question: what was the relationship between the catepanate of Dristra and the catepanate of Paradounavon (Podounavie)? Did they refer to an identical administrative unit which in some cases bore the name of the city and in others was called after the district, or did they exist at different times? According to the evidence of sphragistics, the name of Paradounavon appeared on Byzantine seals after the 1050s at the earliest. Therefore Dristra after 1018 enjoyed the status of a strategeia. During the 1040s it was already a catepanate. It is impossible to determine whether it included only the region of the city or entire Northern Bulgaria. It can be safely said that after the 1050s this catepanate had the name of Paradounavon and included the territory between the Danube and Haemus.

The kommerkiarios of Dristra was established in the city after 1000 when the Danube River became the permanent frontier of the empire and the city was transformed into a border town. Perhaps the commerciaría also existed at the time when the city was a centre of the Paradounavon catepanate.

Dristra (Durostorum) was an ancient Christian centre whose chair was established as early as the period when Christianity struggled to survive. Known are the names of a considerable number of martyrs (over 11) and bishops who gave their lives for the triumph of the Christian faith (Zeiller, J. *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces Danubiennes de l'empire Romain*, Paris, 1918, 110-116; Barnea, I. *Christian art in Romania*, Bucuresti, I, 1979, 7-9). The last known bishop of the city from the VIth-VIIth century before the invasions of the new peoples was Dulcisimos who fled to Odessos where he reposed (Besevliev, *Spätgriechischen*, no. 107).

The city also kept its importance as a Christian centre during the period of the Bulgarian state and especially after the conversion of the country. It is a known fact that the last Bulgarian patriarch Damianos resided in Dristra (Атанасов, Г. Дръстър и патриаршията на Първото българско царство.- В: *Дуросторум-Дръстър-Силистра*, С., 1988, 133-134).

After the takeover of the city by the Byzantines in July 971, Damianos was overthrown and the patriarchal seat was reduced to the rank of an archbishopric. But what it really included and what its structure was are still disputed questions. Some scientists suppose that the archbishop of Bulgaria resided in Dristra and his jurisdiction included all dioceses in the Eastern Bulgarian lands conquered by Byzantium (Georgiev, *Au sujet*, 120-129; *Idem*, *L'organisation*, 147-154). Others surmise that after the conquest of Eastern Bulgaria in 971, the status quo before 927-944 was restored (Златарски, *История*, I, 2, 596-597).

After the final conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, the church structure was firmly established as well. From the second charter of Basil II, dated to 1020, one learns that the seat of Dristra was reduced to the rank of a bishopric subordinate to the Ochrid archbishop. "...Thus we command that the bishop of Dristra should have in the towns of his diocese and in the other towns about 40 clerics and 40 parics. Because during the reign of Peter in Bulgaria this diocese shined with its archbishop dignity, but after that the archbishops moved from one place to the other, one in Triaditza, the other in Voden and Moglajna, and after that we found the present archbishop in Ochrid. Therefore we command that Ochrid itself is to have an archbishop and a bishop to be ordained for Dristra" (see ГИБИ, 6, с. 45).

For how long this situation lasted is not possible to ascertain but in 1054 the list of the participants in the Synod of the Constantinople patriarchate includes an anonymous metropolitan of Dristra as 26th (see Oikonomides, *Decret synodal*, 60-61, 62, n.1). Other sessions of the Synod on 6th November 1071 and 14th March 1072 also mention the name of this metropolitan of Dristra - Leontius (Oikonomides, *Decret synodal*, p. 57.29, 60-61). In the diocese lists from the time of Alexius I Komnenos (1081-1118) Dristra is a metropolitanate subservient to the Constantinople patriarchate (see Darrouzes, *Notitae*, 11.73).

Dristra kept its importance as a metropolitan centre in the XIIth century as well and it forms the basis of the church structure of the restored Bulgarian state under the Assen dynasty. One of the hypotheses is that the archbishop seat in the new capital of Turnovo was, in fact, a successor to the Dristra metropolitanate (see Мутафчиев, Дръстър, 89-91).

Bibliography: Йорданов, И. Византийски печати с името на Силистра.- 100 години исторически музей Силистра, 2002, 80-91.

23.1 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου (971-?)

- a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17589. D. 27-28 (21) 3 mm. W. 14.20 g. Imprinted twice at angles of 90°.
b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 18521. D. 24-25 (21) 3.6 mm. W. 14.10 g. Partial imprint made by a weak strike on the boulloterion or because of poor cohesion between the bulloterion and the blank. Some of the letters were probably destroyed later by corrosion.

The two specimens are struck by the same die. Find-spot: Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 215-216.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- a) - • - | +ΛΕ. | R'A'CP . . | SCTP . . | ΗΓ. | - • -
b) | . ΕΟ | R'A'CPAΘ' | SCTPAT | . . .

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- a) - • - | ΔΟΡΟC | . ΟΛΟΝ | . . ΑΡΑΚ | .ΝΟΠ8
b) | ΔΟΡ . . | ΤΟΛΟΝ | ΟCΑΡΑΚ | . . . Π8
+ Λέο(ν) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ[ὸς] Δοροστόλου ὁ Σαρακ[ι]νόπου(λος)

23.2 Ἀρκάδιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου (971-?)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22172. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 11-20 (20?) 4 mm. Half a specimen which is cut and not broken. It is interesting that the inside of the blank is hollow.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 217.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- +Κ | . . Η | . Ω Δ | Α Ρ | . .

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- . . . ΠΑ | . . . 'SCT | . . . 'SCT | . . OCT. | . . .
+ Κ[ύριε βο]ή[θ(ει) τῷ σ]ῶ δ[ούλῳ] Ἀρ[καδίῳ β'(πρωτο)σ]πα[θ(α)ρ(ίῳ) (καὶ)]
στ[ρα]τιγ[ῶ Δορ]οστ[όλου]

The main problem with the commentary of this seal is that its inscription is not explicit. In the last two lines on the reverse other letters could be proposed. We are also not sure what letters are available. Besides the proposed ..OCT. | ... - ..ΕCΙ. / ... is also possible and thus, some other varieties for reading of the toponym or patronym could be supposed.

23.3 Βασιλιανης / Βασιλάκης ? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας (Xth-XIth centuries)

In a private collection (Z. Byulbyulev from Harmanli). Find-spot: the information obtained claims that it was in Silistra. D. 24-27 mm; field 21 mm; thickness 2 mm. Incomplete imprint. Struck off-center and also opened in the low half along the line of the channel.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen in the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1660 is struck by the same boulloterion. It is more complete and better preserved (see Seibt, *Bulgarische Geschichte*, no. 1). We quoted above his text for comparison.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns:

- ⊙ || NI-K. Circular inscriptionCOΔΟΝΛΟ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- .RAC . . | .NIA'CPAΘ | . I. SCTP' | . . . CTP
.RACIA | .NIA'CPAΘ | PIoSCTP' | TPICTP (Zacos collection)
[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει το] σο δούλο Βασιλ[ι]νι (πρωτο)σπαθαρίο (καὶ) στρ(ατιγῶ)
Τρίστρ(ας)

Two problems could be settled with the deciphering of the inscription:

The *homonym*. It is written in the first and second lines. According the opinion of Seibt, it is RACIA. what means the name Βασιλ[ι(ω)]. It is necessary to note that the inscriptions of the seal

from the Seibt collection and of this one from Silistra contain two or three letters |.NI. in the second line before the title protospatharios. Obviously they are part of the homonym. We do not know any homonym comprised of the letters RACIA |.NI. Probably it is RACIA |AKI, but this is just an assumption. It is certain that it does not concern Basil.

The toponym. It is written with the letters TPICTP and the first letter is illegible. Either it is a badly preserved Δ or indeed it is T. In the two cases we logically assume that it concerns Dristra.

The seal is generally dated to the late Xth century or the early XIth century. This is the probable time when this strategos of Dristra ruled, unknown from other sources.

23.4 Θεόδωρος πριμικήριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας (Xth-XIth centuries)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 73. Found in Pliska by Russian archaeological expedition in 1899. D. 27-29 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 3 mm. A well-preserved specimen but incompletely imprinted.

Ed. **Панченко**, Азбѹда-Плиска, 296-297. Табл. LVIII.3; **Йорданов**, Плиска, № 19.

Parallels: Another specimen struck by the same die has been found in Istanbul (see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 66). It is preserved in the Hermitage (M-2338).

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns:
Θ- ... || Δ-Θ-Ρ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- - - |.ΕΟΔΩ |.ΡΙΜΙΚ |.ΣΤΡΑ |.ΙΓ'ΔΙC | ΤΡΑC
+ [Θ]εόδω(ρος) [π]ριμικ(ή)[ρ(ιος)] (καὶ) στρα[τ]ηγ(ός) Δρίστρας

A specimen found in Silistra has the same iconographical subject and inscription but without the position and toponym (see **Йорданов**, Силистра, I, № 16). It is possible that it concerns the same person who wrote letters before or after his appointment as strategos of Dristra.

Theodore had the title of a πριμικήριος held by eunuchs and probably he was an eunuch. This title was equal to πρωτοσπαθάριος given to non-eunuchs during the Xth-XIth century. The seal dates precisely to that period.

23.5 Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας (Xth-XIth centuries)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17545. D. 23-25 (19) 3 mm. W. 10.30 g.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17630. Half a specimen.

The two specimens are struck by the same die.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 218-219.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Circular inscription:

+ΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΠΕ | ΤΡ'Ρ'Α'CΠΑ | Θ'ΣΤΡΑΤ' | ΔΙCΤΡΑ | C
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Πέτρ(ω) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῷ)
Δρίστρας

23.6 Ἀνδρόνικος β' σπαθάριος ? καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (XIth century)

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 14205. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 22-23 mm; field over 22 mm; thickness 2 mm. The imprint was originally good but the specimen is badly preserved.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Силистра, III, № 1.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of an unidentified military saint who is beardless with short curly hair holding a spear over his shoulder in r. hand and a shield in l. hand.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..ΔΡ.Ν |.ΚΩ.СΠ |.ΘΑΡ'SKO | ΜΕΡΚΗΑΡ' | ΔΡ'CTP
[Ἀν]δρ[ο]ν[ί]κω [β']/[πρωτο]σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) κομ[μ]ερκηαρ(ίω) Δρ(ί)στρ(ας)

23.7 Διονύσιος σπαθαροκανδίδας καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (XIth century)

Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-24 (22.5) 2.5 mm. Well preserved specimen, but incompletely imprinted.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of an unidentified military saint who is beardless with short curly hair, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: || . Γ-OI-C

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

.ΚΕΡ'.. | ΔΙΟΝVC.. | CΠΑΘΚΑΝ | ΚΟΜΕΡΚΙ | ΑΡ'ΔΡΙ | .ΤΡ
[+] Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι Διονυσ(ί)[ω] σπαθ(αρο)καν(ιδιάτω) (καὶ) κομμερκιαρ(ίω)
Δρί[σ]τρ(ας)

23.8 Ἰωάννης κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας (XIth century)

Find-spot: uncertain. Plaster cast from the collection of Prof. T. Gerassimov from Sofia. On the reverse it is noted that the original was in the collection of engineer Takov and it was made in 1963. D. 24-24 mm.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns:
Θ-N-I || Κ-O-ΛΑ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ἸΩΚΟ | ΜΕΡΚΗΑ | ΡΗΩΔΡ | CΤΡΑC
+ Ἰω(άννη) κομμερκιαρήω Δρ(ί)στρας

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO 55.1.3333) a specimen is preserved which belonged to Ἰωάννης Σπονδύλης κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας. The following is its description by **Nesbitt-Oikonomides** (DOS, I, no. 65.2):

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas as last. Along border of dots circular inscription:

.ΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. + ἸΩΚΟ|ΕΡΚΙΑΡ'|.ΡΙCΤΡΑC|ΩCΠΟΝ|ΔΝΛΗ|

An assumption based on the identical subject of iconography, homonym and title could be made that the owner of the two groups of seals was one and the same person, namely, Ἰωάννης Σπονδύλης. Probably another unpublished seal of the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO 55.1.3332) belonged to the same person:

Obv. +ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ8'|ἸΩΧΑΡΤ8'|ΛΑΡΙΩ|

Rev. ΔΙΟΙΚΗ|Τ'ΣΩΡΕΙ|ΑΡΙ'ΤΩC|ΠΟΝΔΝ|-Λ'-

23.9 Λέοντιος μοναχός καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Δρίστρας (50s of the XI century)

a. Museum of History, Silistra, no. 83. Found in 1988 during excavations of the medieval Dristra in the successive buildings along the northern fortress wall. At depth 14.19 m and at 1.85 m east of building no. 7. D. 29-31.2 (27) 2.1 mm. The engraving of the dies is of high quality. The imprint itself is very successful and the relief is clear and high.

b. Private collection. A cast of it was sent to me by my colleague K. Velkov from Nova Zagora. The original was discovered in the vicinity of the village of Boyadzhiik, region of Yambol. D. 28-30 (27) 3 mm. W. 21.06 g. Incomplete imprint.

Both specimens imprinted by the same boulloterion.

Ed. a: **Йорданов**, Архиперен на Дръстър, 163-168; b: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin facing, holding Christ in l. arm. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘV. Circular inscription along border of dots: +ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines preceded and followed by an ornament:

- ✕ - | +ΛΕΩΝ | ΤΙΩΑ'Χ'S | ΕΠΙCΚΟΠ' | ΔΡ.CTP' | - ✕ -

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Λεωντίω (μον)αχ(ῶ) (καὶ) ἐπισκόπ(ω) Δρ[ί]στρ(ας)

The owner of the seal which affixed the document or correspondence was Leontios, monk and bishop of Dristra.

The main questions are: who is this Leontios, is he known from other sources and when did he occupies the chair of Dristra?

During sessions of the Synod on 6th November 1071 and 14th March 1072 which discussed problems connected with the appointment of bishops in vacant dioceses, the metropolitan of Dristra Leontios was also present (see **Oikonomides**, *Decret synodal*, 57-60).

Is he one and the same person?

The seal is generally dated to the XIth century but it could be pinpointed to its middle, i.e. the 1050s. As was shown above, Dristra was a bishopric between 1020 and 1054. Therefore Leontios could have been bishop of the city during that time.

The coincidence of names, places of service and continuity of his offices would make us believe that the bishop of Dristra from the seal and the metropolitan of Dristra with the same name from the sessions of the Synod in 1071 and 1072 are identical. The seal reflects the time immediately before the promotion of the bishopric to a metropolitane when Leontios was the last bishop and the first metropolitan of Dristra at the same time.

The elevation of Dristra to the rank of metropolitane coincides with the time when the city was proclaimed to be the centre of the Paradunavon catepanate (see here at no. 58), i.e. the representatives of the Byzantine provincial secular and church administration were gathered in one city.

Is it possible that one and the same person occupied the chair of Dristra from the 1050s until 1072. Taking into account that some prelates were connected with given seats all their life for several decades, our case should not be considered an exception. But a simple coincidence of the names of two different persons is also possible. The former may have been bishop of Dristra during 1020-1054 and the latter may have been metropolitan with the same name after 1071.

It is an interesting question to whom in the vicinity of the present village of Boyadzik, Leontios, bishop of Dristra, sent his correspondence?

23.10 Χριστοφόρος μητροπολίτης Δρίστρας καὶ πρωτοσύγκελλος (80s of the XIth century)

- Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22436. Discovered in 1984 during excavations of the Preslav archbishopric south of the Palace Basilica. D. 19-20 (22?) 2 mm. Thickness above the relief 4 mm. Unsuccessful imprint. The blank was smaller than the size of the dies, because of which the inscription remained outside it.
- National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 13142. Originates from Silistra. D. 19-20 (22) 3 mm. In this case too the imprint is incomplete. The relief of the image is worn out, as well as the letters.
- Museum of History, Bourgas. Originates from Pomorie. D. 19-22 (22) 4 mm. The imprint and especially the inscription is not complete. The molybdo-bull itself is in a better condition than the former one but it is holed twice.
- Museum of History, Silistra. Discovered on the bank of the Danube River. D. 20-21 (?) 3 mm. Badly preserved specimen, in which the images and the text could hardly be identified.

Ed. Йорданов, Архиперен на Дръстър, 163-168.

No parallels known.

Obv. Circular inscription between border of dots:

-Θ'ΧΡΥΣΤΟΦ.....
-ΟΦΟ.....
- ...ΕΡ'Θ'Χ...C...ΦΟΡ'ΜΡΟ
-ΟΡ'.....

In the centre the Virgin seated on a backless throne, holding a medallion of Christ before her.

Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ.

Rev. Circular inscription between border of dots:

-PACSA'CVΓΚΕ....
- PI.....ΕΛΛΩ
- PIC.....VΓΚΕΛΛΩ
-

[+ [Θ(εοτό)κ]ε β(οή)θ(ει) Χρυστοφόρ(ω) μ(ητ)ρο(πολίτ)η [Δ]ρίστ(ρ)ας (καὶ)
(πρωτο)συγκελλ(ω)]

In the centre there is a bust of St. Symeon holding the Child Jesus (Χριστοφόρος) with a nimbus, chymation, long hair, beard and moustaches *en face* with his head turned to the left. On the right he holds the Infant wrapped in swaddling clothes. There is a nimbus over the head of the latter. On both sides of the composition in vertical lines: Θ-C-V || M-ΕΘ-N.

It is noteworthy that the embossed image of the Virgin is high and it stands out over the rest.

In my publication quoted above a suggestion is made that the owner of the seal which was affixed on correspondence to Anchialos, Preslav and Dristra was Christophoros, metropolitan of Dristra, who took part in the meetings of the Synod on March 20th and 21st, 1082. His seal perhaps reflects a later stage in the career of this prelate because it contains the title of protosynkelos which is not mentioned in the protocols of the synodal sessions (see **Goullard**, *Proces*, 137.6, 141.76).

24. Δρουγουβιτείας

The name of this theme could be related to the Slavonic tribe of the Dragovites, Δρο(υ)γο(υ)βίται or Δραγουβίται, which inhabited the area north of Thessalonica. They were initially federates of the empire and later on became Byzantine subjects. The bishop of Δρουγουβιτείας Peter attended the so-called "false council" held in 879 and headed by patriarch Photius. The name of this bishopric subordinate to the metropolitan of Thessalonica is mentioned in the diocese lists from the IXth-Xth century (see **Darrouzes**, *Notitiae*, 7299; 185; 10218; 13328).

The name of the Δρουγουβιτείας strategia was written for the first time in the Escorial Tactic (?-975, see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S. 267.6). It was situated north of Thessalonica and in the east it bordered on the Strymon theme. The name of this administrative unit is also reported in the documents of the Ivirion monastery from 995-996 signed by Νικόλαος κριτής Στρυμόνος, Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (see *Ivirion*, nos. 9-10) and in a letter of Michael Pselos addressed to: τῷ κριτῇ Δρουγουβιτείας (**Pselos**, *SM*, 2, no. 118.24). It is necessary to give a new meaning to the presence of the seals of this administrative unit in the Bulgarian lands. Its significant activity is apparent.

The Δρουγουβιτείας toponym is written on the following seals:

- Πέτρος σπαθάριος καὶ ἄρχων Δρουγουβιτείας, according to his seal dated to the first half of the IXth century (**Wassiliou-Kyriaki**, *Neu Siegel*, no. 4).
- Πέτρος Μόσχος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ ἄρχων Δρουγουβιτείας, according to his seal dated to the XIth century and preserved in the collection of DO 58.106.1752 (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 21.2).
- Ἰσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Θεόδοτος ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτῆς Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Γρηγοῤας Σαυλοϊωάννης πρωτοσπαθάριος, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱποδρόμου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Ἰωάννης Ἐλεσβάμ ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κριτῆς Δρουγουβιτείας, according to his seal dated to the second half of the XIth century (see **Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, c. 27, tabl. VII.12; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 43.8).
- Κωνσταντῖνος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσотρικλίνου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Λέων Ν., πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κριτῆς Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Μιχαὴλ Σκληρός πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Νικόλαος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κριτῆς Στρυμόνος καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (995-996, see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 72).
- Χριστόφορος πριμικήριος καὶΔρουγουβιτείας (see below).
- Θεόδουλος πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (see below).

Bibliography: **Dujcev**, I. Dragivista-Dragoviti.- *REB*, 22 [1964] 215-222; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 357-358, nos. 388-390; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, p. 84; **Peri**, I. Velika (Dragivista) e il primo vescovo della chiesa Bulgara, *Boll. Grot.*, 1992, 159-187.

24.1 Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (50s-60s of the XIth century)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-37 mm; field 30 mm; thickness 7 mm. Well imprinted on a large and thick blank, of which no more than half is preserved. This hampers the deciphering of the inscription and especially its fourth line where some extra office of Basil Tzirithon might be inscribed.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. The Virgin standing and holding Christ (l. arm).

Rev. Inscription of eight lines:

...ΕΡ'Θ' | ...ΩΔ8ΛΩ | ...ΛΕΙΩΠΡΙ | ...ΠΑΤΩΚΡΙ | | ...ΔΡ8Γ8R | ..ΙΑCTΩ. | .ΡΙΘΩΝ
[+ Θ(εοτό)k]ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῷ σ]ῶ δούλῳ [Βασι]λείῳ π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) [ἀνθυ]πάτῳ κρι[τῇ τοῦ
βήλου ... [καὶ] Δρουγουβ[ιτ]είας τῷ [Τζι]ρίθων

Basil Tzirithon is known from narrative sources and his seals. They define his cursus honorum as:

1. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ β'νοτᾶριος τοῦ εἰδικοῦ λογοθέτου (1045), see **MM**, 5, no. I, p. 2.
2. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (1050s).
3. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ γηροτρόφος (1050s-1060s), see **Konstantopoulos**, *Stamules*, no. 812.
4. πρωτοβεστάρχης κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Κιβυρρειωτῶν (1060s-1070s), see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, no. 59.7.
5. πρωτοπρόεδρος, δικαιοφύλαξ καὶ ἐξισωτὴς τῆς Δύσεως (1080s), see **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 721.
6. ἐξισωτὴς τῆς Δύσεως (1082), see *Lavra*, I, no. 44.16-17.
7. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἑπαρχος (1080s), see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 483; **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 747; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1032.
8. πρωτοπρόεδρος (October, 1089), see *Lavra*, I, no. 49.14.

The text of the seal presented here reports a new and unknown period of the career of Basil Tzirithon, as well as the name of a new judge of the Drougoubiteia theme.

24.2 Γρηγοῤῥᾶς Σαυλοιωάννης πρωτοσπαθᾶριος, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (XIth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 30424. Formerly in a private collection (D. Dimitrov from Pernik). Found in the Gradishteto locality near the town of Lyubimets, district of Haskovo. D. 26-26 mm; field 21-22 mm; thickness 2.8 mm. A good imprint and a well-preserved specimen which enables some corrections to be made in the previous publication. Unpublished.

Parallels: In the Dumbarton Oaks collection another specimen struck by the same die is preserved (DO 58.106.2195), see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 21.3.

Obv. Bust of a bearded bishop with a nimbus and short hair blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:|| O-ΘΑ-ΜΑ-Τ'. The available letters of the name of this saint give us reason to suggest that he is ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Θα(υ)ματ(ουργός).

Rev. Inscription of seven lines preceded by an ornament:

| ΓΡΗΓΟ | ΡΑΑ'СПΑΘ' | ΚΡΙΤ'ΕΠΙΤ | ΙΠΠΟΔΡΟМ | ΣΤΗCΔΡ8Γ' | ΡΗΤΙΑΤ. | CΑΥΛΟΙΩ
Γρηγοῤῥᾶ (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) κριτ(ῇ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) ἵπποδρόμ(ου) καὶ τῆς Δρουγ(ου)βητίας
τ[ῷ] Σαυλοιω(άννη)

The incomplete imprint prevented the publishers of the seal from DO (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 21.3) from interpreting its images and inscriptions. They considered the saint on the obverse to be St. Nicholas and the patronym is [Χρ(υσ)]υλοῖῳ, but the homonym, i.e. the name of the owner of the seal, is not specified. The specimen presented here shows that the owner of the seal who sent his correspondence to unknown recipients in the stronghold near to the town of Lyubimets in the district of Haskovo and Constantinople was Γρηγοῤῥᾶς Σαυλοιωάννης πρωτοσπαθᾶριος, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας. The seal generally dates to the first half of the XIth century. A person bearing such a name is not known from the narrative sources. We are not aware of other representatives of this family.

24.3 Θεόδοτος ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτὴς Δρουγουβιτείας (XIth century)

Museum of History, Radnevo. Found during archaeological excavations of the medieval settlement near the village of Polski Gradetz. D. 23-24 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 2 mm. Incomplete imprint. The first letters of all lines are missing. This made the full reading of the inscription difficult. Besides the above proposed reading, there are two other possibilities and one of them was presented in the previous publication: ΚΙΡΤ. | ΔΡ8Γ. | ... = [(πρι)μι]κίρ(ίῳ) τ(ῆς) δρουγ(α)[ρίῳ].

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Марица Изток*, № 18.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

.ΚΕΡΟ | .ΘΕΙΤΩ | .ΩΔΟΝΛ' | .ΕΟΔΩ | - T -

Rev. Inscription of four lines, preceded and followed by an ornament:

- o - | ACH | ΚΡΗΤΙ | .ΚΙΡΤ | ΔΡ8Γ. | - • -

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θει τῷ [σ]ῶ δούλ(ῳ) [Θ]εοδώτ(ῳ) ἀσηκρήτι [(καὶ)] κριτ(ῇ)
Δρουγ[ουβ(ιτείας)]

24.4 Ν., καὶ κριτὴς Δρουγουβιτείας (XIth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 30438. Formerly in a private collection (D. Dimitrov from Pernik). Found in the Gradishteto locality near the town of Simeonovgrad. D. 26-29 mm. Incomplete and badly preserved imprint which prevents the full reading of the inscription. We cannot be sure what the name of the owner and his title is. It is close to the latter but is still different.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔ... | -ΠΑ.-

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

...IC | .ΡΗΤΗ | ..8ΓΟΝ | ..ΤΗΑ

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δ[ούλῳ]..... [(καὶ) κ]ρητῇ [Δρ]ουγου[βι]τήα(ς)

24.5 Ἰσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρουγουβιτείας (Xth-XIth c.)

a-c. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

d. In a private collection (Ilyan Zhekov from Shoumen). Find-spot: uncertain. This specimen was placed at our disposal before being sold. According to its owner, it was found in Silistra or somewhere in northeastern Bulgaria but perhaps it was taken from Preslav. D. 20.5-20.5 mm; field 19 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. An excellent imprint and a very well preserved specimen.

e-f. In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. Probably they originate from Preslav or Silistra. D. 22-25 mm; field 19 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. D. 20-21 mm; field 19 mm; thickness 3 mm. The two specimens are preserved to a different extent and the quality of their imprints is different.

The six specimens are struck by the same die.

Ed. a-c: **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 220-221, 2216; d-f: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps, on either side fleuron. Along border of dots, circular inscription:

+ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+HCA | ΚΗΟΡ'Α' | CΠΑΘ'С | CΤΡΑΤ' | ΔΡΟΓ8 | ΡΗΤ'

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Ἰσακῇ β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῷ)
Δρο(υ)γουβητ(είας)

For more about the person in question, the strategos of Drougoubiteia, see no. 46.9, where the final stage of his career is presented.

24.6 Κωνσταντῖνος πρωτοσπαθᾶριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (Xth-XIth centuries)

Museum of History, Shoumen. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 12-24 (21) 1.5 mm. Half of a previously very good imprint which makes reading difficult.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 477.

No parallels known.

Obv. Part of decorative cross. In the field on the right: \overline{XC} . Remains of a circular inscription:

.....ΩCΩΔΟΝΛ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+K.... | ΠΑΘS.... | ΡΗΓK..... | ΑΚΜΑ..... | ΝΑΓΡ.... | ΔΡΟ...

[+K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κ[ων(σταντῖν)ω] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρί)ω] (καὶ) [ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) χρ(υσο)τρικλίνου ... (καὶ) ἀναγρ[αφεύς] Δρο[υγουβι]τείας]

Of course, the filling in and deciphering of the text of this seal remains questionable until the appearance of an imprint which is better preserved.

24.7 Λέων Ν., ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτῆςΔρουγουβιτείας (Xth-XIth centuries)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 5986. D. 20-22 (26?) 3.5 mm. W. 7.23 g. Incomplete imprint.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 21539. D. 24-25 (26?) 3 mm. W. 11.00 g. Incomplete imprint.

The two specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 222-223.

Parallels: In the collection Orphanidi-Nikolaïdi of the Numismatic Museum of Athens another specimen is preserved which is probably struck with the same die. It provides a correction to be done to the reading of the specimens from Preslav but not the whole text of the seal. See Koltzida-Makre, no. 45.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a sceptre with a trefoil (r. hand) and a globe (l. hand). Sigla: M-I || -A. Between two borders of dots :.....ΩΔ' ΛΕΟΝΤΙΑCH.....

Rev. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns:

Θ -.. || K-O-Λ'. Between border of dots inscription continuing from the obverse:

.....ΔΡ8Γ8RITIAc....

[+ K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Λέοντι ἀση[κρήτη καὶ] Δρουγουβιτείας....

24.8 Μιχαήλ Σκληρός πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (80s of the XIth century)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 19752. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

b. Museum of History, Stara Zagora, no. 10. C3-8. Find-spot: Stara Zagora. D. 24-25 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. Almost the whole surface is damaged.

c. Museum of History, Shoumen. Found by treasure-hunters in the stronghold near the village of Kipilovo, district of Sliven, together with coins. D. 21-22 mm; field (?); thickness 3.5 mm. At present the specimen is badly preserved with a missing fragment and an effaced surface.

d. In a private collection (Yanko Todorov from Shoumen). Found in 1993 in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voivoda, district of Sliven. D. 21-21 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. An incompletely imprinted but well-preserved specimen.

e. In a private collection (D. Dimitrov from Pernik). Found by him in the stronghold near Simeonovgrad. D. 23-25 mm; field (?); thickness 4 mm. Good imprint.

f. In a private collection (M. Lakov from Sofia). Find-spot: Akhtopol. D. 24-25 mm; field (?); thickness 3.6 mm. Complete imprint, but badly preserved.

g-i. We documented four specimens from several private collections. They belong to the same bulloterion as the last one. Find-spot: uncertain. Probably some of them are stolen from Preslav and others come from the same places as the last one or from different places. All these specimens are preserved to a different extent and their diameter, field and thickness are similar to the last.

j. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: Uncertain. D. 20-21(?) 4 mm. W. 8.00 g. Well-centered but incomplete imprint in a bulloterion different from the above specimens.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

The ten specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 224; b: Йорданов, *Берое*, № 8; c-j. Unpublished.

Parallels: Three other specimens struck with the same die are preserved in DO 55.1.3313; DO 58.106.2360; Fogg A.M. 1503 (see their edition: Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, no. 21.1).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla: \overline{MP} || $\overline{\Theta V}$. Circular inscription along border of dots: + $\Theta K E R O H \Theta$ '

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a-i: +MIXAHA | A' ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΡΑ | ΦΕVCΔΡ8Γ8 | RITIACTΩ

CKΛHP'

+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) Μιχαήλ (πρω)τ(ο)προέδρ(ω) καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας τῷ Σκληρ(ῶ)

j: | ...ΕΔΡΩS | ..ΑΓΡΑΦΕVC | ..8Γ8RITIA |..CKΛ |.'

The career of Michael Skleros is presented with the publication of the seal from Preslav. Undoubtedly the discovery of ten specimens which belonged to Skleros in the lands of present-day Bulgaria in his capacity as ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας is curious. Naturally, one may ask about the reasons for the intensive correspondence of this noted dignitary. According to our information, this correspondence was sent to five or more addresses.

Some suggestions are possible. It is almost impossible that this correspondence was only official because these lands were not in the jurisdiction of ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας. It could be assumed that Michael Skleros wrote to his colleagues residing in these places about mutual activities in connection with their official obligations, such as inventorying the lands, coordination or "sharing experience". It is also possible that the recipient or recipients were friends or relatives of Michael Skleros.

24.9 Χριστοφόρος πριμικήριος καὶΔρουγουβιτείας (XIth century)

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 12340. Found in Silistra on the bank of the Danube River by Al. Boev. D. 18-22 mm.

Incompletely imprinted and badly preserved specimen; holed here and there. About a third is broken. Perhaps it was used as a button or something else.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

..... | | .CTOΦ' | ..IKPI |

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

..... | ΔΡ8Γ8.. | TIACS.. | |

[+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Χρ(ι)στοφ(όρ)ω] πρ[ι]μ[ι]κ[ι]ρί(ω)..... Δρουγου[βι]τείας (καὶ)...

24.10. Θεόδουλος πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπάτος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (mid. of XIth century)

a. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-23 (23) 3 mm. Half of a previously very good imprint. Cut not along the channel but slantwise.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

b. Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: region of Plovdiv or Pazardgik. D. 25-27 mm. Good imprint, out of which a small portion is chipped or broken.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Both specimens are struck in the same bulloterion.

Obv. Virgin orans standing to front a suppendion. Sigla: \overline{MP} || $\overline{\Theta V}$.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΘΕΟΔΟΝΛΩΑ' | CΠΑΘΑΡΙΩΝ |..ΤΩΚΡΙΤ | .8RHΛ'SΔΡ | .8RITIA

+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Θεοδούλ(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρί)ω ὑ[πά]τ(ω) κριτῇ [τ]οῦ βήλ(ου) (καὶ) Δρ(ου)[γ]ουβιτ(ε)ία(ς)

25. Δυρράχιον

The sources noted this city as Δυρράχιον, Δουρράχιον, Δορράχιον or Δοράη and located it in the land of the present city of Durras (Albania) on the shore of the Adriatic. During the entire existence of the empire it was an important administrative and strategic centre of this region of the Balkans. The city of Dyrrachion was a capital of the theme having the same name. The earliest information about its ruler (στρατηγὸς τοῦ Δυρραχίου) is provided in the Tactic of Uspensky dated to 842-843 (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, U 49.17) but there is an assumption that the Dyrrachion theme was established before 826 and even before 815 (**Ferluga**, *Byzantium*, 215-224, 225-244). The mentioned Tactic also presents the ἄρχοντες τοῦ Δυρραχίου (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, U 57.11) but on a quite lower level in the hierarchy. It is possible that this person was a civil officer similar to the archons of Cherson at this time.

The city achieved certain autonomous status in connection with the transfer of the Bulgarian capital to the West Balkan Peninsula. During the period 995/996-1005 it was captured by the Bulgarians but soon after that Byzantine power was restored.

Until 1042 the theme was headed by strategos and later on by katepano and doux. The importance of the theme increased significantly in the late XIth century and during the XIIth century due to the invasions of the Normans and the loss of the Italian provinces.

The narrative sources have reported the names of many rulers of Dyrrachion but their enumeration here is not possible because of the scanty data from Bulgaria.

Bibliography: Скалабанович, *Византийское*, 220-221; Златарски, *История*, I.2, 646-689; **Ferluga**, *Byzantium*, 215-244; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, p. 352; **Gregoriou-Ioanidou**, 50, 70-71, 77; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 236-238; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, p. 40.

25.1 Νικήτας Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δυρραχίου (1018)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22913. D. 21-22 (over 22 ?) 5 mm. W. 9.60 g. Incomplete imprint, the blank was smaller than the seal. The surface of the molybdo-bull is covered with thick oxide.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 225.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. No sigla visible.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | | .TPATH. | .VPAX'T. | ΠΙΓΟΝ'T

[Νικήτα πατρικ(ίω) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ῶ) Δυρραχ(ίου) τ(ῶ) Πιγον(ί)τ(η)]

25.2 Μιχαήλ Μαύριξ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου (1065-1068)

National Museum of History, Sofia. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 22-24 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. Incompletely imprinted and badly preserved specimen. The first two lines of the inscription are out of the blank.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Силистра*, I, № 12.

Parallels: Three other specimens struck with the same boulloterion or die are preserved in the collections of the Numismatic Cabinet in Vienna (MK 173); Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.4234) and Fogg A. M. no. 1908. About their publication see MK 173 (**Mordtmann**, *Grece*, no. 26; **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 204, no. 1; **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 169, n. 7); DO and Fogg A. M. (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 12.5).

Obv. Bust of St. George with a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). On either side vertical inscription: .Γ-Ε-Ω || Ρ-Γ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | | ΡΕСТА... |ΕΠΑΝ' | ΔΥΡΡΑΧ'ΤΩ | ΜΑΥΡΙΚ'

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ] βεστά[ρχη (καὶ) κατ]επάν(ω) Δυρραχ(ίου) τῶ Μαύρικ(ι)

The career of this dignitary is well known from sphragistic data, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 58.

Μιχαήλ Μαύριξ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου sent his correspondence to the region of the Lower Danube and especially to Dristra where the katepano of Paristrion resided and at that time (1064-1065) the great power of the empire was concentrated there to stop the invasion of the Guzes. Just at that time military units led by the magistroi Basil Apokapes and Nikephorus Botaniates were dispatched there. The correspondence concerning these military operations was probably exchanged between their commanders.

25.3 Ἀνδρόνικος τουρμάρχης Ῥαχιλάου, Ἀραχιλαβης or Δυρραχίου (XIth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 76. Find-spot - uncertain. D. 25-29 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. **Seibt**, *Geographie Bulgariens*, no. 2.

Parallels: A second specimen imprinted with the same bulloterion is kept in the IFEB collection, no. 879. Although we use it to fill some missing letters of our inscription, its imprint is also incomplete (see **Laurent**, V. *Sceaux byzantins inédits*, EO. 32, 1933, 37-38, III; **Seibt**, *Geographie Bulgariens*, no. 2).

Obv. Inscription of four lines preceded by decoration:

- ❖ - | +ΚΕΡ'Θ'| ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΑΝΑΡΟ | ΝΙΚ

Rev. Inscription of four lines preceded by decoration:

- ❖ - | Τ8Ρ | ΜΑΡ. | .ΡΑΧ. | ΛΑ.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῶ σῶ δούλω Ἀνδρονίκ(ω) τουρμάρ[χι] Ῥαχιλάου / [Ἀ]ραχ[ι]λα[β(ης)] or [Δυ]ραχ[ίου τῶ] αλ..

In spite of the two copies available, reading is difficult because of the unusual name of this tourma and the lack of the key first letter in the third line of the reverse, for this reason there are differing readings:

According to V. Laurent, the name of this tourma is Ῥαχιλάου or [Τ]ραχιλάου.

He accepts the first possibility and finds a similarity between the name of the tourma and Ῥάκηλος in Macedonia or Ῥακηλανῶν according to one inscription from Nicomedia.

According to W. Seibt, the text there should be read [Ἀ]ραχ[ι]λα[β(ης)] which he connects with the name of Rjahovo and he suggests that it should be localized at the present village of Rjahovo, region of Rousse, ancient Apiaria.

Of course, this is only a suggestion. Others are also possible. For instance, it may be tourmarchos of Dyrrachion and patronym. In this case too a categorical reply can be provided if a new and better imprinted and preserved copy is found.

26. Δύσις

The Byzantine Empire was traditionally divided into East and West.

Until the mid-Xth century, the supreme command of the army, in the absence of the emperor, was in the hands of the commander of the most important Constantinopolitan cavalry regiment (tagma), the domestikos of the schools. But under emperor Romanos II (959-963), the command of the schools, as well as the supreme command of the army, was divided: two domestikoi of the schools are attested - of the East (τῆς Ἀνατολῆς) and of the West (τῆς Δύσεως); they are at the head of two distinct tagmata. In the absence of a domestikos, these general functions could also be entrusted to a stratopedarches ("of the East", as well as "of the West"). This situation is reflected in the Escorial Tactic.

First deputy of δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως was τοποτηρητής τῶν δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως.

During the first three quarters of the XIth century, the commanders of the major expeditionary forces are called, if not domestikoi, dukes or katepanoi of the East or the West (see commentary to no. 27.1)

The same distinction between East and West also occurs in other tagmata of the empire, the exkubitoi (see here no. 7.3), hikanatoi (see no. 26.10) and others.

The tagmata of the schools disappear from the sources before 1082 as a consequence of the disaster at Mantzikert. After that, the definition "of the schools" also disappears from the seals of the domestikoi who are now qualified simply as "of the East" and "of the West" (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, 1-2 and bibl. quoted). The epithet of μέγας appears as if to compensate, like other offices of that time. Their office of commanders of the army forces of the empire in the East, West or the whole empire is preserved during the XIIth century as well.

Bibliography: **Bury**, *System*, 49-57; **Brehier**, *Institutions*, 295-297; **Guiland**, *Domestique*, 1-13; **Ahrweiler**, *Recherches*, 24-36; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 329-330; **Idem**, *Evolution*, 142-143; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 135-146; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, 1-2.

26.1 Πέτρος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (971-?).

A. β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως

a-d: Find-spot: Preslav. Imprinted with an identical pair of dies.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 148-151.

No parallels known.

Obv. Θ is represented in the middle. Four short and four long radial rays come out of it. The short ones end with a sphere and on top of the long ones are written letters which, if joined, provide the beginning of the invocation: ΚΥΡΙΕ Θ. In the fields formed between the four long rays we read: ΤΩ-ΘΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΠΕΤΡΟ | .Α'ΣΠΑΘ'Σ | ΔΟΜΕΣΤ'ΤΟ | ΝΘΕΟΦ'ΣΚΟ | Λ'ΤΙΔΑΝ | ΣΕ'
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Πέτρῳ [β'] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) δομεστ(ίκῳ) τὸν θεοφ(υλάκτων) σκολ(ῶν) τις Δύσε(ως)

B. πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως.

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 18501. Discovered during excavations in the area of the strategeria in sq. 173/135. 13th May 1980. D. 26-26 (22?) 3 mm. W. 11.11 g. Incomplete imprint.

b. In a private collection (N. Georgiev from Shoumen). Found in Preslav but it is not certain whether the area of the strategeria was concerned. D. 23-25 (?) 3 mm. W. 10.34 g. Incomplete imprint as above. It was additionally holed in the middle and was probably used as a weight.

c. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 20784. Discovered during excavations of the Palace, southern sector, sq. 161/76, depth 0.40 m. D. 29-29 (25) 2.5 mm. It was a successful imprint in the past but now the molybdo-bull is attacked by corrosion and there is a missing piece at one end.

d. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 24774. Discovered during excavations of the Palace, southern sector, sq. 161/214, depth 0.80 m. 20th September 1985. D. 17-25 (?) 2.5 mm. It was a good imprint in the past but now almost half of it is missing. It was broken along the line of the channel.

e. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 24798. Discovered during excavations of the Palace, southern sector, sq. 161/84, depth 0.80 m. 25th September 1985. D. 24-29 (22?) 4 mm. Incomplete imprint. Whole fields of the dies have not been imprinted.

f. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 26457. Discovered during excavations of the Palace, southern sector, sq. 161/235, depth 0.40 m. 7th September 1987. D. 27-28 (23) 2.5 mm. An incomplete imprint as well. The molybdo-bull itself has a well preserved blank and surface.

g. In a private collection (J. Byulbyulev from Haskovo). Legend has it that the seals of this collection come from Silistra but it is not impossible that they are connected with Preslav because they have been repurchased. D. 23-26 (22) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint.

h. As above. D. 23-25 (?) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint but well-preserved molybdo-bull.

The eight copies are imprinted with the same pair of dies.

Ed. a-c: Йорданов, Преслав, № 152-154; d-h: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Θ is represented in the middle. Four short and four long radial rays come out of it. On top of the short ones are the letters ΠΕΤΟ which, if combined, provide the name Πέτ(ρ)ο. At the same distance from the centre a knot is engraved on the long rays. If invisibly connected, these knots form an internal circle together with the ends of the short rays. Starting from the upper centre (12 o'clock), the following letters are written on top of the long rays and above the letters of the internal circle: ΚΕΡΤ ΩΣΟΔ'.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΠΑΤΡΙ|Κ'ΣΔΟΜΕ'Τ'|ΤΟΘΕΟΦΝΛΑ | ΚΤ'ΣΚΟΛ'|ΤΙΔΑΝΣΕ'
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σο δούλῳ Πέτ(ρ)ο πατρικ(ίῳ καὶ) δομε(σ)τ(ίκῳ) τὸν θεοφυλάκτ(ων) σκολ(ῶν) τις Δύσε(ως)

C. πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως.

a-c. Find-spot: strategeria of Preslav.

d. Museum of History, Dobrich. Discovered in the medieval fortress near the village of Odurtsi. D. 26-27 (24) 3 mm.

The imprint was not well centred and is incomplete but, compared to those above, it is much more successful.

e-g. Private collections. I checked them in various collections before they were resold. The information about their origin is uncertain but probably Preslav is involved. Their state of preservation is different and their size is closer to these above.

The seven copies have been imprinted with the same pair of dies.

Ed. a-c: Йорданов, Преслав, № 155-157; d-g: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines preceded and followed by an ornament:

- ❖ - | +ΚΕΡΟ | . ΘΕΙΤΩ | . ΩΔΟΝΑ | ΩΠΕΤΡ' | - ❖ -

Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded and followed by an ornament:

- • - | ΠΑΤΡΗ | ΚΙΩΚΑΙΔ | ΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΩ | ΤΩΝΣΧΟ | Λ'ΔΝΣΕ'
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θει τῷ [σ]ῷ δούλῳ Πέτρῳ πατρικ(ίῳ) καὶ δομεστ(ίκῳ) τῶν σχολ(ῶν) (τῆς) Δύσε(ως)

26.2 Ν., πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως.

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 19203. Find-spot: strategeria Preslav. D. 23-26 (25?) 3 mm. W. 10.65 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the seal.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 158.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Between its upper arms there is part of the invocation: ΙC-X. || ...

Along border of dots part of circular inscription: +ΚΕ....Θ....

Rev. Inscription of five lines, of which the first one is outside the blank:

+ ΠΑΤΡΙ | Κ'ΣΔΟΜΕ'Τ'| ΤΟΘΕΟΦΝΛΑ | ΚΤ'ΣΚΟΛ'| ΤΙΔΑΝΣΕ'
... | Κ'ΣΔΟΜΕ | . | ΤΟΘΕΟΦ | . | . Τ'C | . Λ'| Τ. ΝΣΕΟC
+ Κ(ύρι)ε [βοή]θ(ει) [τῷ σῷ δούλῳ] Ν., [πατρι]κ(ίῳ καὶ) δομε(σ)[τ(ίκῳ)] τὸν(ν)
θεοφ[υλάκτ(ων)] σ[κολ(ῶν)] τ(ις) [Δ]ύσεος

The quoted publication and a particular study of the seals of the domestikoi of schools from Preslav (Jordanov, Domestiques, I, 1-4) made the following conclusions and suggestions:

These three (the fourth one is still incomplete) groups of seals belonged to a single person.

It was suggested that he is identical with the eunuch and stratopedarchos Peter who was killed in 977 and is known from the sources.

The time when Peter was domestikos of the Western schools coincides with the campaign of John I Tzimiskes in northeastern Bulgaria, i.e. the spring of 971. The discovery in Preslav of at least 19 letters of his testifies that it was necessary for him to coordinate his activities with some military and administrative functionary in Preslav. Who was he? The unearthing of most seals in the Palace suggest that he resided there after the takeover the Bulgarian capital. This functionary could be the emperor himself and his deputy for these lands.

26.3 Στέφανος ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (17.08.986-?)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 18997. Find-spot: strategeria Preslav. D. 22-24 (23?) 2.5 mm. W. 6.35 g. Incomplete imprint, part of the dies have remained outside the blank. The reverse of the surviving molybdo-bull is better preserved but the obverse has been destroyed by corrosion.

b. Museum of History, Shoumen. Find-spot: strategeria of Preslav. D. 11-24 (?) 3 mm. About half of the molybdo-bull has survived. Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 159-160.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Procopius holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Π-Ο || Κ-Ω-?Ι-Ο' Remains of a circular inscription: ...RO.... Δ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a) . ΤΕΦ.. | . ΝΘΝ.Π. | ΤΡΙΚ.Δ. | ΜΕC.ΤΟ. | ΣΚΟΛ'ΤΙ | ΔΝC
b) CΤ. . . . | ΑΝ | ΤΡ. . . . | ΜΕC | CΚΟ | . . .
[+Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θ(ει) τῷ σῷ] δούλ(ῳ) Στεφ[άν(ω)] ἀνθυ[π(άτῳ)] π[α]τρικ(ίῳ) [(καὶ)]
δ[ο]μεστ[τ(ίκῳ)] τὸν[υ] σκολ(ῶν) τῆς Δύσε(ως)

The publication quoted above made the suggestion that the owner of the seals presented could be identified with Stephanos Kontostephanos who until August 18th, 986 was δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (see Skylitzes, 331.33).

26.4 Λέων Μελισσηνός μάγιστρος, ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (17th August 986-?)

A. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17211. Find-spot: strategía of Preslav. D. 13.5-22 (23 ?) 3 mm. Half of an incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the dies.

b. Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 13635. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 18-29 (25) 3 mm. About half of a imprint which was good in the past has survived. It is not the other half of the former molybdo-bull.

Ed. a: **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 161; b: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Although both copies have survived in halves, they have been imprinted with an identical couple of dies. Their comparison led to the following reconstructed text.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ KER. | HΘITΩCΩ | Δ'ΛΕΟΝΤ. | AN.VII. | ..

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..ΤΡΙ | .ΣΑΟΜΕ | CΤΙΚ'ΤΩNC | ΧΟΛ'ΤΗCΔVC | ΤΟΜΕ..CIN.

+Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Λέοντ[ι] ἀν[θ]υπ[άτ]ω πα[τ]ρικ[ί]ω (καὶ) δομεστίκῳ τῶν σχολ(ῶν) τῆς Δύσ(εως) το Με[λ]ισιν[ῶ]

B. μάγιστρος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17093. Find-spot: strategía of Preslav. D. 30-33 (25) 3 mm. W. 14.75 g. The imprint is not very successful. The last letters of the die are missing. The molybdo-bull is split and almost cut in half along the line of the channel.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 162.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines preceded and followed by ornaments:

- ❖ - | +KVPIE | ROH ΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔΟΝΑ. | .ΕΟΝΤ. | - ❖ -

Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded and followed by ornaments:

- ❖ - | ΜΑΓΙC | .ΡΩCΔΩΜ' | .ΩNCΧΟΛ'Τ' | .C' | ΤΩΜΕ | .ΙCΗ.Ω | - ❖ -

+Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Λέοντ[ι] μαγίστρω (καὶ) δωμ(εστίκῳ) [τ]ῶν σχολ(ῶν) [τ]ῆς Δύσ(εως) τῷ Με[λ]ισιν[ῶ]

26.5 Λέων Περηνός μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ πάσης Δύσεως (third quarter of the XIth century)

Kept in Romania [MIRSR, 48/41]. Before that it was part of the Papahadjí collection. Originates from Silistra. D. 25-25 mm. A badly preserved specimen covered with lead oxide. The lower end of the obverse is strongly damaged or seems to have been retouched on the photograph.

Ed. **Barnea**, Durostorum, no. 6; **Barnea, I. and Seibt, N.** Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Rumänien eine Nachlese zu Stücken mit Familiennamen.- *JÖB*, 49, 1999, 92-93, no. 4.

No parallels known.

Obv. Visible bust of the Virgin holding a medallion before her.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines: Zacos, III, 1586 and 1706

+ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΛΕΟΝΤ' | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | ΚΑΙΔΟΝΚ | ΠΑCΗCΔ'C | ΤΩΠΕΡΗ|-N'-

+ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΛΕΟΝ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | .ΑΙΔΟΝΚ | .ΑCΗC . . | .ΩΠΕΡ. |- . -

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Λέοντ[ι] μαγίστρω [κ]αὶ δουκ(ι) [π]άσης [Δ(ύ)σ(εως) τ]ῷ Περ[ηνῶ]

Probably due to the seals' poor state of preservation, the first publisher suggested the reading: +Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Λέοντ[ι] μαγίστρω [κ]αὶ δουκ(ι) 'Ασίας and dated it to the Xth century. Such a dukedom is not attested in the sources of that time.

The filling in of the missing letters and the complete deciphering has been made thanks to the specimens in the G. Zacos collection, III. It is difficult to say whether they have been imprinted with the same bulloterion because there is additional retouching on the photograph from Bucharest. These specimens still enable a correction to be made in the reading of the seal from Silistra which can be connected with the person of Leon Perenos.

He is unknown from the narrative sources.

The name of a representative of this family (Περηνός) is reported during the wars against the Normans in 1068. He was doux of Dyrrahium (see *Anonyme de Bari*, p. 152) and Italy (see *Skyllitzez*, *Cont.*, p. 169).

A seal of Leon Perenos as τοποτηρητής 'Οψικίου has been found on the territory of Bulgaria and is generally dated to the XIth century (see no. 56.2).

A molybdo-bull of Leon Perenos in his capacity as a private person from the late XIth century is kept in the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet in Vienna (MK, no. 465).

If we accept that an identical person is referred to, his career seems logical. In the mid. XIth century Leon Perenos was a topotiritos of the tagma dislocated in the Opsikion theme. During the Norman invasions of 1068 he was doux of Dyrrachion and Italy and at a later stage (1070s-1080s), quite logically, he was entrusted with the command of the Byzantine forces stationed on the Balkans. Finally, he retired from active service into private life.

The seals announce the names of:

1. 'Αλέξιος Περηνός πατρίκιος (second half of the XIth century; see *Seyrig*, no. 49)

2. Κωνσταντῖνας Περηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος (XIth century), according to an unpublished lead seal from the Hermitage collection (M-6360):

Obv. Eight rays cross in the centre of the circle. Each one ends with a letter which together form the invocation.

Rev. ...N. | TANTIN | Ρ'Α'CΠΑ | .ΑΡ'ΟΠ | ΕΡΕΝΟ |

3. Νικήτας Περηνός πατρίκιος καὶ ἄρχων (second half of the XIth century), according to an unpublished lead seal from the Zacos collection, III, no. 1590:

Obv. St. Nicholas standing.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΝΙΚΗΤΠΠ | SAPXONTI | ΤΟΠΕΡΙΝ|-Ω-

It is not possible to suggest a direct link between the persons noted. Obviously they are representatives of the same family who most probably lived during the second half of the XIth century.

26.6 'Αδριανός Κομνηνός πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως (1087-1105)

1. National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 28682. Our information is that its place of origin is Kazanluk. D. 19-33 mm. About half of an imprint which was once good.

Unpublished.

2. Private collection (Valentin Dimitrov from Haskovo). Find-spot: on the land of the village of Tsareva Poliana, Haskovo Region. D. 34-35 mm. Well-centered and complete imprint but surface covered with lead oxides.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 639, no. 4; **Konstantopoulos**, nos. 337-338; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2709; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, nos. 939-940; **Barnea**, RESEE, XXIII, 1, 1985, 29-32, no. 1; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 1.13 a-c; Lanz Auktion, 64, 07.06.1993, no. 1040. As far as one can compare the illustrations of these publications with our specimen, it belongs to a different bulloterion or another couple of dies.

Obv. St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield resting on the ground. Inscription in two columns:....|| ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ο-С

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΚΕΡ'. | ΤΩCΩΔΟΝ. | ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ. | ACTΩSM.... | ...ΚΩ?.... | |

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δούλῳ 'Αδριανῶ [(πρωτο)σεβ]αστῷ (καὶ) μ(ε)γ(άλ)ῳ [δομέστ]ικῳ π[ά]σης Δύσεως τῷ Κομνηνῷ

Adrianos Komnenos is the fourth child of John Komnenos and Anna Dalasina. He was born between 1060 and 1065. Married Zoe, a daughter of emperor Constantine X Dukas and Eudocia (1059-1067).

Here is in short his career and the events, in which he took part (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, II.1; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, I, no. 16; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 3):

1081: His name appears for the first time in connection with the new titles introduced by his brother emperor Alexius I. The title of περιφανέστος πρωτοσέβαστος was bestowed on Adrianos; 1083-1084: he participated in the war against the Normans in Thessaly;

1087 (spring): he was appointed as μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως probably after the death of Gregory Pakurianus and was involved in a number of decisive battles;
 1087 (spring): he contributed to the routing of Chelgou;
 1087 (Autumn): he participated in the expedition against the Pechenegs headed by the emperor. During the decisive battle at Dristra he was commander of the Latin mercenaries;
 1091 (March-April): immediately before the battle at Levounion he was charged to protect the left bank of the Maritsa River next to the newly built bridge in his capacity of μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως;
 1092-1093 (winter): he participated in the investigation and court action in Philippoupolis against John Komnenos, who was accused of conspiracy. The accusation proved to be false and the father of the accused sebastocrator Isaac Comnen threatened to pull off the beard of Adrianos because of this calumny;
 1094: he was entrusted the delicate mission of uncovering the plot, organized by his brother-in-law Nikephoros Diogenes;
 1094: he participated in the sessions of the Blachernae synod in his capacity of πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος;
 1105 (19th April): he died probably after an illness having taken a new monastic name of John.

There are seals which disclose not only his office of πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως but also his capacity as a private person (see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 197) and an unpublished tessara from Zacos, III, no. 1772.

Obv. Ornamented cross with fleurons. Between arms: IC || XC.

Rev. . ΕΡΟΗΘ | ΤΩΣΩΔΥ | ΛΩΑΔΡΙΑ | ΝΩΤΩΚΟ | ΜΗΝΗΩ

His correspondence to an unknown addressee in the Kazanluk Region and the fortress near to the village of Tsareva Poliana was sent during the period of 1087-1105.

26.7 Συνέσιος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητῆς τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (third quarter of the XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 28623. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 27-29 (26) 2 mm. It was once a good imprint but it has been cut in half during the excavations and a piece is missing.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 167a.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Baptist blessing (r. hand) and holding a cross (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΙΩ-ο || Π-Δ-. Along border of dots a circular inscription: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘ.....

Rev. Inscription of six lines preceded and followed by decorations:

| CVNEC | CΠAΘAP' | KANΔ'STO | ΠOTHPHHT' | TONC XOΛ' | ..CΔVC |
 +Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῶ(ν) δούλῳ Συνεσ(ί)ω σπαθαρο(ο)κανδι(δ)άτῳ (καὶ) τοποτηρητῇ τὸν σχολ(ῶν) | τῆς Δύσε(ως)

26.8 Δραζιμῖρ? πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος καὶ ἄνθρωπος or πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (1057-1067)

In a private collection (Pavlin Stoinov from Trojan). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 30-30 (?) 2-3 mm. The imprint is complete (with the exception of some peripheral letters) and it is well preserved.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield resting on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: .-ΓΕ-ΩΝ-ΓΙ-Ο' || Ο.ΛΑΠΕ-ΛΙ-Τ'

Rev. Inscription of seven lines followed by an ornament:

? |+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΔΡΑΖΙΜΗΡ | Α' CΠAΘ' VΠAT | SANO'T8K8. | ΠAΛAT'SΔOM | CTHKOTHC | ΔVCCEOC |

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Δραζιμῖρ (πρωτο)σπαθα(ρί)ω ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) ἀνθ(ρώ)π(ω) τοῦ κουρ(ο)παλάτ(ου) (καὶ) δομεστική(ο) τῆς Δύσεως

I have not seen the original copy but the seal is rather unusual:

First of all, I am not aware of such an epithet of St. George: Ο.ΛΑΠΕ-ΛΙ-Τ'. The letters are not sufficiently clear to provide any reading.

The personal name of the owner of the seal is also unusual. The first letter in it is not well preserved but probably refers to Δραζιμῖρ, i.e. a Slavonic or Bulgarian name which so far has not been attested in such an early period.

The office of this Δραζιμῖρ is not clear either. It consists of the following letters: SANO. In fact, the third letter is crucial. It could be O but Θ as well. If the first reading is accepted, Δραζιμῖρ is (πρωτο)νοτ(άριος) of the kouropalates and domestikos of the western schools. I am not aware that the kouropalatoi had protonotarioi. Therefore I suggest that it refers to ἄνθρωπος of the kouropalates who was at the same time domestikos of the western schools. Such a kouropalates and domestikos of the western school is known - John Komnenos, brother of emperor Isaac Komnenos (1057-1059). His seals are also known (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 1.18). It is quite acceptable that a domestikos of the western schools who was brother of the emperor should have his own ἄνθρωπος. Interesting is the coincidence between the seal represented here and the one of John Komnenos. Both their reverses feature St. George.

26.9 Βρυένιος Βατάτζης πατρίκιος-ὑπάτος καὶ στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως (mid. XIth century)

Evidenced by an iron boulloterion kept in the Museum of Archaeology in Sofia. Discovered in 1926 in a field near the village of Yablanovo, municipality of Kotel, district of Sliven.

The boulloterion has the form of two-arm pliers whose flat arms end with two biconical thick shapes and are connected with a hinge bolt. They are 315 mm long. The boulloterion weighs 2506 g. The operating jaws are arch-shaped and form two cylindrical dies whose diameter at the lower end is 26 mm. One of them is reverse and since its top was struck with a hammer, this surface is flattened. It is 92 mm in height. The other one is obverse and took the strike which was softened by the lead blank put between the two dies. It is 68 high.

D. of the die:

Obv. Diameter of the whole field 26 mm and of the dotted circle 25 mm. Small parts have crumbled probably during work with seals.

Rev. Diameter of the whole field 26 mm and of the dotted circle 23 mm.

Ed. **Мушмов**, *Н. Отчет на нумизматичния отдел. - ОБАИ*, 8, 1927, 1-8; **Mouchmov**, *N. Un nouveau boullotirion byzantin. - Byzantion*, 4, 1927 (1928), 189-190; **Йорданов**, *И. Още веднъж за булотириона от Археологическия музей в София. - ГИМ*, 8, 1992, 387-393.

A description of the image and text:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: MP || ΘV.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | RPVEN'ΠΡΙ | VΠAT'SCTP' | TIAAT'THC | ΔVC'TΩRA | TATZ
 Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Βρυεν(ί)ω π(ατ)ρι(κί)ω ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) στρ(α)τιλάτ(η) τῆς Δύσε(ως) τῷ Βατάτζ(η)

My publication just quoted introduced not only a better reading of the text and the dating of the seal but also suggested that Bryenius Batatzes together with his corps participated in the military expedition against the Pechenegs near Preslav in 1053 which ended disastrously for the Byzantine army. He is unknown from the narrative sources.

The name of Bryenius Batatzes features on two or three groups of seals:

a) ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω, dated to the 1050s-1060s (see **Jordanov**, *Melnitza*, no. 11);

b) βεστάρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ κατεπάνω, dated to the 1060s according to unpublished seals from Zacos collection, III, no. 1482.

Obv. The Virgin standing, holding Christ in l. arm.

Rev. ...ΕΝΙΩ | ..CΤΑΡΧΗ | ..ITKOITON | SKATEPIAN | ..RATA | -ΤΖΗ-

c) as a private person, dated to the second half of the XIth century (see **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 398; **Jordanov**, *Melnitza*, no. 12).

They add new evidence about the person of Bryenios Batatzes:

Most probably after the catastrophe near Preslav in 1053, when Bryenios Batatzes lost his boulloterion, he also lost the unit he used to command. It is likely that after that he was placed at the disposal of the command of the imperial army to be sent where they deemed necessary. During a later period he resigned from his military career, which is witnessed by his seals as a private person.

Some remarks about the office of στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως. Stratilates is a usual and often encountered rank. In the beginning it was used to translate the Greek-Latin term of magister militum, a title which spread during the VIth century and disappeared during the VIIIth-IXth century (see **Bury**, *System*, 23-24; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, p. 296).

It acquired a new and exact meaning in 970 when John I Tzimiskes (969-976) bestowed this title on the former domesticos of the eastern schools - Bardas Skleros. From that time on the sources began to mention a tagma called στρατηλατῶν.

The Escorial Tactic (975) presents στρατηλάτης as the 8th in the hierarchy (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S 263.27; p. 303). His first aid and deputy was τοποτηρητής τοῦ στρατηλάτου who is also attested there (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S. 273.22).

The XIth century sources mention many stratilatoi who are often specified as of the East or West but it is not easy to understand whether a leader of a particular tagma is concerned (in the case of the seals the answer must be positive) or it is a general literary convention for a commander. A final differentiation was made in the sources of the tagma of the schools of the East and West during the reign of Romanos IV (1067-1071). See **Bury**, *System*, 23-24; **Ahrweiler**, *Recherches*, p. 58; **Guil-land**, *Recherches*, I, 385-392; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 332; **Idem**, *Evolution*, p. 143.

26.10 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως (975-?)

a-g. All seven copies with the possible exception of g have been struck with the same pair of dies.
Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 168-174.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ΛΕΟ | Ρ'Α'СПΑΘ' | ΔΟΜΕ | СΤΙΚ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΤΟΝΗ | ΚΑΝΑΤ' | ΔΥΣΕΟ | .CΑΡΑ | ΚΙΝ

+Λέο(ν) β' (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) [(καὶ)] δομέστικ(ος) τὸν ἱκανά(των) [(καὶ)] Δύσεο(ς)
ὁ Σαρακιν(όπουλος)

In the light of the seal of Ἀδράλεστος πατρίκιος, δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς presented above, the offices of Leon Sarakinopoulos should be similar: δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως.

Some brief remarks about the hykanates:

They were corps of the imperial guard created by Nikephoros I Genikos (802-811) in 809 as private guards of his son and co-emperor Staurakios. In the beginning only members of the most aristocratic families participated. During the campaign of Nikephoros I and Staurakios in Bulgaria, the corps of the hykanates were exterminated. Their name is included in later sources which enable one to conclude that they became ordinary cavalry corps of the tagma.

Commander of the corps was δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων. He is present in all tactics, including the Escorial one, together with his first aid the topoteretes (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, p. 332). In the XIth century the significance of these corps and their commander diminished and his name disappears after the reign of Emperor Basil II (976-1025). See **Bury**, *System*, 63-64; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 332; **Idem**, *Evolution*, p. 143; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 116-119.

Therefore, Leon Sarakinopoulos as β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων was entrusted with the leadership over the army forces located in the West during a particular military operation. When exactly and against whom? This should be considered in the context of his entire career:

a) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου;

b) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου;

c) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως;

d) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως (975-?);

e) πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης τοῦ σταύλου;

f) πατρίκιος, κόμης τοῦ σταύλου καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ.

Thus arranged, his carrier looks more logical and ascending.

26.11 Χριστοφόρος πριμικήριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Δύσεως (Xth-XIth centuries)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 15032. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 20-21 (20) 2.3 mm. Unsatisfactory imprint, the blank has not been centred properly in the boulloterion. The molybdobull itself is badly preserved, especially its reverse.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Силистра*, II, № 17.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines. Circle of pellets within two border of dots:

.ΚΕ.. | .ΩC.ΔΟV | Λ'Χ..CΤΟ | Φ'Α'ΜΙΚ' | ΡΙΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines. Circle of pellets within two border of dots:

+ΚΑΙ | ΧΑΡΤ8ΛΑ | ΡΙΩΤ8ΔΡΟ | Μ8ΤΗCΔV | CΕΩC

+Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει) τ[ῷ] σ[ῶ] δούλ(ω) Χ[ρι]στοφ(όρω) (πρι)μικ(η)ρίω καὶ
χαρτουλαρίω τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Δύσεως

27. Ἑλλάδος

It was first mentioned as a strategy in 695 and kept its significance until the XIth century inclusive. Owing to a tradition unknown to us, the corps of the western excubites was stationed in it.

27.1 Μιχαήλ Δρύμις πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητής τῶν ἐλαδικῶν, ἐξκουβίτων (XIth century)

National Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 93. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-21 mm. Incomplete imprint and badly preserved molybdobull. Its upper part is holed.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο ||

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | .CΠΑΘ'ΣΤΟ | ..ΤΕΡ'ΤΤΟ. | ΕΛΑΔΙΚ' ΕΞ | Κ8ΡΙΤΩΝΟ | ΔΡVΜΙC

Μιχαήλ [(πρωτο)]σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) το[πο]τερ(ητής) τὸ[v] ἐλαδικ(ῶν) ἐξκουβίτων ὁ
Δρύμις

Brief commentary about the excubites and their command.

Δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων is a commander of the second most important corps of the tagma. This name is mentioned for the first time in 765. In the Escorial Tactic (975) the excubites are divided, like the corps of the schools, not in two but in three parts: the first one under the command of δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S. 265.16); the second under the δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων τῆς Δύσεως (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S. 265.17); and the third, garrisoned in the capital, whose commander was only called δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S 271.18).

But it seems that this division was carried out some time before the Escorial Tactic because, according to Kekaumenos, Nikoulitz Delphinos was appointed by emperor Romanos II (959-963) to be domestikos of the excubites in Hellas (δομέστικον τῶν ἐξκουβίτων Ἑλλάδος; see **Литаврин**, *Кекавмен*, 280-281). The seal of Michael Drymis, presented above informs about a similar case in the XIth century as well.

Michael Drymis is unknown from the narrative sources.

The XIth century knows the following representatives of this family:

1. Ν. Δρύμις who lived in the mid-XIth century. The letters of Michael Pselos leave the impression that he was an aristocrat and maybe a land owner (see **Pselos**, *SM*, II, p. 69.17).

2. Λέων Δρύμις is evidenced only by his seals which form the following cursus honorum (see **Йорданов**, *Леон Дрим*, 145-149):

a) σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ στρατιγός (1030s), according to his unpublished lead seal kept in Vienna (MK, no. 383):

b) πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατιγός (1040s), according to two lead seals of his from the same bulloterion kept at IFEB (no. 164) and Vienna (MK):

c) πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατιγός (1040s-1050s), according to his unpublished lead seal from collection of L. Zarnitz, no. 153.

Obv. ...| .ΘΕΙΤ Ω | CΩΔ8Λ | ΛΕΩΝ | -T-

Rev. Α'CΠΑΘΑ | Ρ'ΣΕΠΙΤ'Χ | CΤΡΑΤ | Γ'Τ'ΔΡ' | Μ

c) ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Δρίστρας (1050-?), according to his lead seal from Auction Münz Zentrum, Köln, 100, 8-10 Sept. 1999, no. 105.

d) βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Βουλγαρίας (1050s-1060s), according to his lead seal from Vienna (MK, no. 194), see **Mordtmann**, *Εὐρώπης*, p. 145, no. 4; **Laurent**, *Bulletin*, I, 611-614.

28. Εὐξείνους Πόντος

A commerciaría with such a name was reported in the VIIIth century in connection with Synop (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2894).

For the first time a strategía thus named was noted in 963 by Leo the Deacon in his *History* (see **Diaconus**, *Bonn*, 44; **Лев Дякон**, c. 27, pp. 25). Later the name of this strategía was mentioned in the Escorial Tactic (975). Oikonomides considered it to be a sea theme which had the task of defending the basin of the Black Sea against the Russians. The main post of this defense was the Bosphorus in Thrace and therefore the above-mentioned author assumed that the strategos of Εὐξείνους Πόντος had resided there, too (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, S 267.10; p. 358).

28.1 Τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου (783-784)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 14. Find-spot: uncertain (Istanbul ?). D. 27-33 mm.

Ed. **Мущмов**, *Печати*, № 7.

No parallels known.

Obv. Two imperial busts: Constantine VI (l.), beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with a cross, and his mother Eirene (r.), wearing a crown with a cross and four triangular projections. Between the figures, in the upper field, a cross.

Rev. Three imperial busts above an exergual line: Constantine V (l.), Leo III (centre) and Leo IV (r.); all wearing chlamyses and crowns with crosses. Indiction sign visible in the field: Z (indiction 7).

Below the exergual line, inscription of three lines:

ΤΩΝΒ'ΚΟΜΜΕ | .Κ'Τ8ΕΝΞΗ | ΝΟΝΠΟΝΤ| ..

[Ἰνδικτῶν] ζ Τῶν β'κομμε[ρ]κ(ιῶν) τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντ[ου]

28.2 Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγός τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου (mid. XIth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 14. Find-spot: uncertain, probably Istanbul. D. 27-27 mm; field 24 mm; thickness ? mm. Good but illegible imprint.

Ed. **Мущмов**, *Печати*, № 51.

Parallels: **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 72.5.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns:

Ο-Α-Γ-.. || Ν-Ι-ΚΟ-Λ-Α'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Α'CΠΑΘΑΡ | VΠΑΤCCTP | ΤΙΓΤ 8ΕV | ΞΗΝΠΟΝ

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)σπαθαρ(ίω) ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) στρ(α)τιγ(ῶ) τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόν(του)

The publisher of the seal from the Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, has not deciphered the last two lines. He thought that the family name of ΤΩ ΔVΖΗΝΩΝ = τῶ Δυζήνων is inscribed after the office of strategos. The dating of the seal to the XIIth-XIIIth century provided by the same author is also quite questionable.

We have to proceed from the title and office included in the text in order to date the seal. The strategía of Εὐξείνους Πόντος was earlier reported in 975 and the title πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος became known after the 1030s-1040s. Therefore the seal is dated to the mid-XIth century.

The information obtained by the seal which is presented here proves that this naval unit existed during the XIth century, too, or it was restored in relation to the renewed danger from a Russian sea invasion. It is well known that in 1043 the Prince of Kiev Yaroslav dispatched 20 000 warriors against Constantinople with 400 ships (see **Литаврин**, Г. *Война Руси против Византии в 1043 г.-Исследования по истории славянских и балканских народов*, М., 1971, 194-196).

29. Εὐθυμίου

29.1 Τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μεγάλου

Its ruins are situated at Khan-el-Ahmar, some three hours of walking distance from Jerusalem towards the Dead Sea. The Monastery was founded in 425 by St. Euthymius and the church was built in 428/429 by patriarch Juvenalus. After the demise of the saint it adopted his name. The frequent political changes and perturbations failed to end its existence until the late Middle Ages. During the Crusades between 1099 and 1187 it was taken over by the Arabs and later fortified. There are two pieces of information about it from this period: the travel account of the Russian monk Daniel who found in 1106 that the cloister was "destroyed by the infidels" (see **Khitrowo**, *Itinéraires*, p. 35) and the pilgrim John Phocas in 1177 who remarked that life behind the high walls of the laura went on much as usual (see *PG*, 133, col. 949A).

Bibliography: **Vailhe**, S. Saint Euthyme le Grand.- *ROC*, 13, 1908; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.3, 412-413.

National Museum of History, Bucharest. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 24-25 (21) ? mm. Good imprint and well-preserved molybdo-bul.

Ed. **Banescu**, *O Colectie*, no. 7.

Parallels: Two other specimens, printed with the same bulloterion, are kept in the collection of IFEB, no. 1183 (see **Schlumberger**, *Monuments byzantins*, p. 568, no. 18; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.3, no. 1581) and **Zacos** (*Seals*, II, no. 462).

Obv. Bust of St. Euthymios with a long beard; wears a chymation and holds a cross in r. hand. Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΕV-ΘV || Μ-Ι-ΟC.

Rev. Metrical inscription of four lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΤΟΥΜΕΓΑ | ΛΟΥΕΝΘV | ΜΙΟΥ

+ Σφραγίς τοῦ Μεγάλου Εὐθυμίου

N. Banescu suggested to date it to the XIth-XIIth century and connected the seal with the reign of the Komnenoi while Fr. V. Laurent categorically insisted on the XIIth century. The Byzantine seals discovered in Silistra belong only to the XIth century, although some exceptions of the early XIIth century are available, which makes the dating of Banescu. The seal itself does not invite dating to the late XIIth century when the correspondence should have been received in Dristra, if the dating of Fr. Laurent is accepted and if one takes into account the information, quoted above, about life in the monastery between 1106 and 1177.

30. Εὐχάϊτα

Today Avhat, a village some 55 km east of Amasia in Asia Minor. Veneration of St. Theodore centered there as early as the Ist century. In the beginning it was a bishopric and later a archbishopric but became a metropolitanate in 880-886. It was elevated to this rank by patriarch Photius. His supporter Theodore Santabaren was sent there.

According to John Skylitzes the town was renamed Theodoropolis during the military campaign of John Tzymiskes in Eastern Bulgaria in 971 in remembrance of the help which St. Theodore the Stra-

tilates rendered the Byzantines during the conquest of Dristra (ὄν καὶ ἀντὶ Εὐχανεία Θεοδορόπολιν κατωνόμασεν. see **Skylitzes**, 309.32-33).

As a metropolitan centre Euchaita survived until the mid-XIVth century when it was taken over by the Turks.

While analyzing this passage by Skylitzes one encounters a number of contradictory facts which do not help in solving the problem:

a) it is evident that there are two different neighbouring towns Εὐχαΐτα and Εὐχανεία. The first one is a focus of the cult of St. Theodore the Tyronos which formed as early as the IVth century, and the second one venerated St. Theodore the Strathilates whose cult sprang up around the IXth century. The status of both in the church administration was equal (see **Oikonomides**, N. Le doublement de S. Theodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchaneia.- *Analecta Bollandiana*, 104, fasc. 3-4, 1986, 327-335);

b) not a single metropolitan of Euchaneia or Euchaita, renamed Theodoroupolis, is known;

c) the seals of Sisinius the catepano of Theodoroupolis are connected with a town on the lower Danube (about them see here at no. 33.1);

d) the cases, included below, which mention the names of Theophilus or Philotheus doubtless refer to Euchaita.

30.1 Φιλόθεως σύγκελλος καὶ μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων (70s of the Xth century)

Museum of History, Silistra, no. 9. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 17-18 (17) 1.5 mm. Once it was a good and complete imprint but later it was cut around the periphery and the ensuing form is more rhombus-like than circular. The images are not damaged.

Ed. **Йорданов, И.** Печат на Филотей, синкел и митрополит на Евханта, ръководител на дипломатически мисии в България.- *Приноси към българската археология*, I, С., 1992, 120-25.

Parallels: **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, 16.7.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore the Tyron holding a martyr's cross in front of his chest. Vertical inscription on either side: Θ || Θ-Ε-Ο-Δ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines followed by a decoration:

+ΦΙΛ. | ΘΕΜΗΤ.. | ΠΟΛΕΓΕΥ. | ΑΤΟΝΣC. | ΚΕΛ. |
+Φιλ[ό]θε[ω]ς) μητ[ρο]πολ[ε]ί[της] Εὐχ[α]ίτων καὶ σ[ύ]γκελλ[ο]ς)

The collection of Fogg A. M. keeps a molybdo-bull of the same person but in his capacity as metropolitan of Euchaita (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 766).

The name of this bishop is mentioned by the narrative sources on the following occasions:

When Nikephoros Phocas rebelled in Caesareia in the summer of 963, his messenger to the capital was "the bishop of Euchaita Philotheus". But instead of being met as an envoy, he was chained and thrown into prison (**Лев Диакон**, 27-28).

In the summer of 969 a delegation was sent to Bulgaria in order to strengthen "the understanding and friendship between Romans and Scythes". The delegation was headed by the patrikios Nikephoros nicknamed Erotikos and the proedros of Euchaita Philotheus (**Лев Диакон**, c. 45).

The name of the bishop of Euchaita is mentioned later in connection with the ending of the Russian-Byzantine war in 971. According to the author of the "Повесть временных лет" (p. 53), the peace treaty was signed "during the reigns of Svetoslav, the great Russian Prince, and Svenald, it was written by Philotheus the synkelos".

The name of the same bishop was mentioned by Skylitzes but it is connected with the following events: "The Emperor also conceded this at Svetoslav's request: that a delegation be sent to the Pechenegs inviting them too to become friends and allies; allies who would not cross the Danube to prey on the Bulgars but who would allow the Russians to pass through their lands unharmed on their way home. It was Theophilus, bishop of Euchaita (Θεόφιλος ὁ τῶν Εὐχαΐτων ἀρχιερεὺς), who discharged this mission" (see **Skylitzes**, 309-310.45-50).

Because of the fact that the text refers to envoys and negotiations about closely connected events, to prelates of an identical diocese whose names sound similar, almost all scholars agree that this bishop of Euchaita and the one from the earlier period are one and the same person - Philotheus (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 587; **Божилев**, *Сарацинопул*, c. 108, б. 53; **Сахаров**, *Дипломатия Святослава*, c. 192).

The question the existence of this molybdo-bul raises is: when was the correspondence to which it was affixed received in Dristra?

The analysis of the evidence quoted makes it clear that in 963 Philotheus was a bishop (?); in 968-969 he was called proedros which usually means bishop or metropolitan while Skylitzes calls him simply a prelate. On his seal from the Fogg A. M. he is a metropolitan and in our case he is a synkelos. If it refers to one and the same person, the question may be put: why in the chronicles quoted is he called a bishop and why is he a metropolitan on the seals?

For us it is more important that he is also a synkelos on our seal. This title was probably bestowed on him by the new emperor John Tzymiskes. The correspondence of this prelate of Euchaita was probably received in Dristra in connection with the negotiations mentioned above or with his mission to the Pechenegs. His task was to tell Svetoslav the results of his visit to the Pechenegs. The seal is an additional proof of the identity of Philotheus with Theophilus from the sources quoted above.

31. Ἑφας

31.1 Φιλάρетος Βραχάμιος πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ δομέστικος Ἑφας (?-1084)

Private collection (G. Gulubov, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-27.5 (over 27) 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The relief of the letters is erased.

Unpublished.

Parallels: *Seyrig*, no. 192; **Cheynet**, *Zacos*, III, nos. 124-126. The last three seals are imprinted with a different boulloterion.

Obv. St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield placed on the ground.

Rev. Metrical inscription of seven lines:

..... | .IKONΕΩΑ. | ΑΘΛΗСКΕΠ | ΟΙCΠΡΩΤΟΝ.. | ΡΑCΤΩΝΦΙ | ΛΑΡΕΤΟΝ | ΡΡΑΧΑΜ
[Δομέστ]ικον Ἑφ[α]ς) ἀθλήτ(α) σκέποις πρωτον[σε]βαστῶν Φιλάρетон Βραχάμ(ην)

The seal is dated to the late XIth century where a man so named did live. Information about him which is sometimes rather extensive found in the narrative sources and sphragistic monuments (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 7.7; **Cheynet**, *Brachamioi*, no. 13).

We are interested in the period when Philaretus Brachamios was a πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ δομέστικος Ἑφας (between 1081 and 1084) and sent his correspondence to an unknown addressee in Bulgaria. It is impossible to tell which events were concerned and to whom it was sent. There is no direct evidence. It is possible that the eastern army was dispatched to the Balkans in order to repulse some danger for the empire, for instance the invasion of the Normans headed by Robert Guiscard. The correspondence of Philaretus Brachamios may also have been sent to a relative or friend of his who participated as an army officer in the military expeditions of the empire in the present-day Bulgarian lands.

32. Θεοβουλεία

A bishopric attested only by the seal presented below. Its localization and dependence are a matter of discussion.

32.1 Νικόλαος ἐπίσκοπος Θεοβουλεία (second half of the IXth century)

a. Kept in the Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 323. Discovered on May 12th, 1974 during regular archaeological excavations of Great Basilica object in Pliska, northern sector, sq. 124, depth 0.60 m. D. 25-26 (22?) 2 mm. The blank is thin. The imprint is well centred but still rather shallow and unclear. The reverse and obverse of the dies are identical, as is the case with coins. The surface of the molybdo-bull is poreous and slightly destroyed by corrosion.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Корпус*, № 149.

b. Private collection. According to my colleague V. Yotov another copy, probably imprinted with the same die, was offered for purchase to the Museum of History in Dobrich, but after disagreement about the price it was returned to its owner. I have unproven evidence that it was discovered in the region of Shoumen.

Ed. Йорданов, *Корнус*, № 150.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Circular inscription along the border of dots: + ΑΓ'ΝΙΚΩΛ'Β'Τ'ΔΟ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines. In the field above and below, tendril ornaments:

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ | ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩ | ΘΕΟΒΟΥ | ΛΕΙΑΣ
+ "Αγ(ι)ε Νικώλ(α)ιε β(ο)ήθ(ει) τ(ῷ) σ(ῷ) δο(ύ)λ(ῳ) Νικόλαω ἐπισκόπῳ Θεοβουλείας

The seal was originally published by me in 1992 together with the other seals from Pliska. The bishopric of Θεοβουλεία is unknown from other sources - diocese lists and sphragistic monuments, which made its localization problematic.

Still, the following observations were made:

1. Dating the seal according to its iconography, the paleography of some of the letters and most of all the closed B should not exceed the last quarter of the IXth century but an earlier origin is possible.

2. The dating of the molybdobull is also supported by the stratum where it was found. The other seals of the same place are generally attributed to the period of 870-893. This should be the date of the molybdobull in question.

3. The discovery of one of the molybdobulls in Pliska and the other in an unspecified settlement in northeastern Bulgaria connects them with the newly created Bulgarian church structure.

4. New bishoprics and dynamic changes in them (connected with the name) are much more possible in a recently converted country than in Byzantium.

5. A Greek inscription, found in Silistra and dated to 870, tells the name of bishop Nicholas who was probably a Bulgarian prelate.

These observations enabled me several years later to put forward the hypothesis based on the connection between the toponym Θεοβουλείας and the town of Devol known from various sources (Δεάβολος, Διάβολος, Diabolos, Дѣволъ).

This assumption relied on the close pronunciation of both toponyms Θεοβουλείας and Δεάβολος, as well as the etymology of the name of Δεάβολος, Διάβολος, Diabolos, connected with the swift and torrential river called 'devilish' and hence the name of the town - devilish. It is evident that after the conversion to Christianity and the appointment of a bishop, originally Greek, here, there was embarrassment with the title of this prelate - bishop of a devilish town. This led to the employment of a metaphor and the substitution of Δεάβολος with Θεοβουλείας meaning 'a city wanted by God' (see Йорданов, И. Печат на първия епископ на Девол от IX век? - *Трудове на катедрите по история и богословие*, ШУ, 2, 1998, 56-60).

The hypothesis of P. Georgiev took a different course. He agreed that the toponym Θεοβουλείας referred to a land wanted by God, a land - Θεοβουλείας (γῆ). This land or country wanted by God, according to this author, is the newly converted Bulgarian state. As regards the person of bishop Nicholas, P. Georgiev suggests that he is, in fact, the metropolitan of Cherakleia of Thrace who was headed the Bulgarian church which underwent reorganization after 870 (see Георгиев, П. Първият български архиепископ.- *Преславска книжовна школа*, 3, 1998, 129-139).

It is necessary to point out that both hypotheses contain many conventions and vagueness. The easiest solution would be to accept that Θεοβουλείας is really an epithet of the noun bishop, in the sense of 'bishop wanted by God'. Similar cases are known when the respective bishop or metropolitan is called ἀνάξιος, ἐλάχιστος, εὐτελής, Θεοφιλεστάτος etc. But in these cases the epithet precedes the noun. Yet another thing - the Byzantine seals of bishops or metropolitans dated after the VIIIth century, known to me, always disclose the chair of the respective prelate.

33. Θεοδωρούπολις

This catepanate was established by John I Tzimiskes (969-976) after the end of the military campaign of July-August 971. It existed for a short period from 971 to the time of the Escorial Tactic, 975. The seals below are the only sources about its existence. It is quite natural that its location is mainly discussed. In the preceding publication we considered this name to be a satellite of the Bulgarian capital, Preslavitzza. Nevertheless, we have to remember that in the chronicle of Skylitzes this name is noted in connection with the capturing of Silistra. Therefore, the probable answer could be

found in the dilemma of Dristra-Mundraga. According to N. Oikonomides, this name was used for Dristra after his capture by John I Tzimiskes in July/August 971, but when the emperor returned to Constantinople, he changed his mind and took back his old name of Dristra - Dorostolon (see Oikonomides, *Premiere occupation Bulgarie*, 586-587).

Bibliography: Йорданов, И. Кой български град е бил наречен Теодоропол? - *Векове*, 1983, 1, 58-63; Diaconu, P. Ou se trouve Theodoroupolis, nom consigne sur certains sceaux du Grand Preslav? - *Втори международен конгрес по българистика. Доклади*, 6, С., 1987, 437-448.

33.1 Σισίνιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κατεπάνω Θεοδωρουπόλεως (971-?)

The four specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 228-231.

No parallels known.

Obv. A rosace made out of cross with equal arms that end in fleurons filling the quarters.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ CICI | NIOR'A'C | ΠΑΘ'SKAT | ΕΠΑΘΕΟ | Δ8ΡΟΠ'
+ Σισινίο β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) κατεπά(νω) Θεοδουροп(όλεως)

33. Θεσσαλονίκης

This was the second important city of the empire. It was a strategic, administrative, military, economic and cultural centre during its entire existence. From the first quarter of the IXth century it was a capital of the theme having the same name. The administrative and military reforms implemented during the second half of the IXth century meant that Thessalonica was protected by the heavy cavalry of the tagma residing there, which was commanded by a catepanos or duke. The officers of the various civil departments (fiscal, legal, etc.) resided there.

The sphragistic remains bearing the toponym Θεσσαλονίκης found in Bulgaria are too scanty and it is not necessary to provide a detailed introduction.

Bibliography: Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 352; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, 50-51.

33.1 Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης (mid. Xth c.)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 95. Found during archaeological excavations in the medieval settlement near the village of Popina, district of Silistra. D. 23-24 mm. Badly preserved specimen. The obverse is almost entirely erased. Holed in two places and it was probably used as a fishing weight.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Two specimens struck with a different die are preserved in the archive of the main Athonian church of the Protaton. One of them is still originally attached to a document dated to August 2, 943 (see *Protaton*, no. 6) and the other one is affixed to a document from May, 942 (see *Protaton*, no. 4) but later on it was attached to another, rather later document, which was not related to the first one (*Protaton*, p. 189). See Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, nos. 120.1-120.2; Oikonomides, *Dated*, no. 65.

Obv. Effaced. Scarcely visible outlines of griffin on l.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | ..KATA | ..ΛΩΡ'Α'. | ..Θ'ΚΕΣΤΡ | ..ΘΕСА | ..ΝΙΚΙC
[+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει)] Κατα[κα]λῶ(ν) β'(πρωτο)σ[πα]θ(αρίω) κε στρ(α)[τηγ(ῷ)]
Θεσα[λω]νίκης

In the Zacos collection (*Zacos, Seals*, II, no. 931), a third specimen different from the latter two is preserved. We cannot be sure whether it was struck with the same die but nevertheless they are quite similar. The third specimen is likewise badly preserved. Zacos has dated the specimen published by him to the mid-Xth century without commenting on its information.

Oikonomides has identified the owner of the seal as the holder from this archive and dated the specimens to 942-943. According to his opinion, Κατακαλὼν πρωτοσπαθάριος occupied the office of στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης until 945. Then he was murdered during one of the Magyar invasions.

There are not any reasons to reject this determination. However, it is more significant for us to define the purpose of the presence of this specimen in the medieval settlement near the village of Popina which is situated 20 km to the city of Silistra.

What was the reason which induced Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης to send his correspondence to an anonymous recipient in this unknown medieval settlement of the Bulgarian state?

The reuse of the specimen as a fishing weight testifies that it has probably not been found *in situ* and the correspondence affixed by it had not been received there. But it is certain that the correspondence of Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης was sent to the region of the lower Danube, most probably near Dristra.

We do not know the concrete reasons behind this but concerning his deed he probably wrote to some representative of the Bulgarian authorities or of the Byzantine navy stationed somewhere there regarding the coordination of mutual actions against the invader. Perhaps they had in mind to stop the invaders along the river Danube.

In any case, the seal of Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης, found somewhere in the region of the medieval settlement near Popina or in the city of Dristra, is a source for this time and these dramatic events.

34.2 Δαυίδ Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης (Xth-XIth centuries)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 28079. Found in the southwestern corner of the inner city of Preslav during archaeological excavations in 1991. A fragment (about half of an originally good imprint). D. 17-27 (of the seal over 25) mm.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of a cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: .Θ.-CΘ ||.-ΛΘ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΔΑ..... | CΠΑΘ'SC.. | ΤΗΓ'ΘΕC.. | Τ8..... |

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει | τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δα(υὶ)δ [β'(πρωτο)]σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) σ[τρ(α)]τηγ(ῷ) Θεσ[αλ(ονί)κης] του ...

According to the preserved part of the inscription, the owner of the seal was a strategos of Thessalonica unknown to us and his name written in the first line is David, Damianos or Demetrios. The last two lines probably include his patronym which remains hidden.

34.3 Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης

National Museum of History, Bucharest. Found in Silistra. A half. D. 12 mm.

Ed. **Barnca**, Durostorum, no. 7.

No parallels known.

It is possible to attribute it to Thessalonica. Its inscription is incomplete and the preserved part could be read in various ways:

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a Gospel book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: ...|| K-O-A'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+K... |CTA... |CΠA... |TPA... |CA...

var. a: +ΚΕΡ'Θ'|CTΑΝΡΑΚ'Ρ'Α' |CΠAΘAP'SC |TPAT'Γ'ΘΕ |CΑΛONIK

var. b: +ΚΩΝ |CTANTR'Α' |CΠAΘAP'SC |TPAT'Γ'ΘΕ |CΑΛON

34.4 Ἰωάννης σπαθαροκανδιδάτος, ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτῆς Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης (XIth century)

In a private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 28-30 mm; field 24,5 mm; thickness 4 mm. Good imprint but some of the letters are not visible. Excellently preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Two specimens struck with a different die are preserved in the collection of DO 47.2.168 and 58.106.3868 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 18.24).

Obv. Inscription of five lines followed by decoration:

ΘΕΡ'Θ'| ΤΩCΩΔ8'| ἸΩANN. | CΠAΘAP. | KANA. | - ❖ -

Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded and followed by decoration:

- ❖ - | ACHKPH | .KPITH | ...EP'CTPY | MONSΘE | CΑΛONIK' | - • -

Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ῳ Ἰωάνν[η] σπαθαρο[ο]κανδ(ι)[δάτῳ] ἀσηκρή(τη)[(καὶ)] κριτῇ [Βολ]ερ(οῦ) Στρυμόν(ος) (καὶ) Θεσσαλονί(κης)

In the publication cited above the authors present some documents of the Athonite monasteries signed by persons having the same name and similar positions. The document from Ivirion, which dates to June 1024 and is signed by Ἰωάννης σπαθαροκανδιδάτος, ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτῆς Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης, is rather coincidental to our data (see *Ivion*, I, no. 27).

34.5 Εὐθύμιος γενηκὸς λογαθεσίου ἄρκλας..... (Xth-XIth centuries)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17007. Found in the strategia of Preslav. Imprint is doubled, especially on the obverse. Badly preserved specimen. This made the reading of the inscription difficult suggested the assigning of the seal to the group of seals not deciphered at the time of its initial publication. Surely, the reading proposed here is just a hypothesis prompted by **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 1.4; 71.2 with the names of officials who held the same position.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 463. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+KERO | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔ8Λ. |.VΘVM. | o

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.ENHK | ...ΛΘEC | ..ΛΛΟ. | .KH.

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ[ῳ] Εὐθυμ[ί]ο [γ]ενηκ(ῷ) [ἄρκ]λ(ας) Θεσ[σα]λλο[νί]κη[ς] or [γ]ενηκ(οῦ) [ἄρκ]λ(ας) [λο]γαθεσ(ίου) [τ(ῆς) Θρα]κ[η]ς]

34.6 Τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Θεσσαλονίκης (801-802)

Museum of Archaeology, Nessebur, no. 1275. Found in the medieval stronghold near the village of Stit, district of Svilengrad (Skoutarion). D. 26-31 mm; field over 26 mm; thickness 4 mm. Struck off-centre. Some portions of the representation and the inscription are out of the blank.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of Empress Eirene wearing a crown with a cross and two triangular projections, divitision and chlamys, and holding scepter on the l.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΤΩNB' | KOMEP. | ΘΕCΑΛ. | NIKIC

Τῶν βασιλικῶν κομερ[κ(ί)ων] Θεσσαλ[ο]νίκης

34.7 Ἀγαλλιανὸς σπαθάριος καὶ ἑπαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης (mid-Xth century)

In a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Findspot: uncertain. D. 29-29 (28) 3.5-4.5 mm. W. 19.96 g. It was a good imprint in the past but it is now strongly effaced. Traces of letters and a monogram are visible. The reconstruction of the text is made after the copies already published.

Unpublished.

Parallels. Two other specimens struck with the same bulloterion are kept in the collections of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 55.1.666), see **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 1691; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 18.18 and Orghidan, see: **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 238.

Obv. Traces of a cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΑΓΑ | .ΛΙΑΝΩ | ...ΣΕΠΑ | |

[Θεοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ] Ἀγα[λ]λιανῷ [σπα(θαρίῳ)] (καὶ) ἐπά[ρχῳ] Θεσσαλονί(κης)]

35. Θράκης

Thrace was the first European theme established as a base for counteraction against the Bulgarians in 679-680. It covered a large territory between the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea and the Haemus Mountain. During the following decades some other themes on the territory of Thrace were established to oppose the Bulgarian and Slav invasions: Macedonia, Hellas etc. All the time of its existence Thrace was a defending zone for the capital Constantinople. The main city was Arcadioupolis. A new commerciaría of Thrace was also established as a part of the trading activity with the new neighbours which was concentrated in Messembria.

The sphragistic data attested these themes for almost all the time of its existence as a neighbour of Bulgaria because it often included contestable lands between the two countries.

During the Xth-XIth centuries when some Bulgarian territories were also included in Θράκης, it underwent many reorganisations which are reflected by the seals of the holders.

The military-administrative reform of the second half of the Xth century put Thrace within the limits of the Adrianoupolis dukedom. Owing to this reason, the seals belonged to civil rulers of the Thrace theme often connected with the judiciary and fiscal authorities which had dominated during the XIth century.

Bibliography: Скабаланович, *Виз. государственн.*, 224-225; Pertusi, *De Them.*, 156-160; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 349, 355; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, I, p. 155.

35.1 Ἰωάννης νοτάριος καὶ βικάριος Θράκης (VIth century)

A.

a. National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 30431. Formerly: in private collection (D. Dimitrov from Pernik). Found in the locality "Kalyata" near to the town of Shivachevo, district of Sliven. D. 23-25 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

b. In private collection (B. Sergov). Found in Akhtopol. D. 21-23 mm; field 20 mm; thickness ? mm. W. 9.20 g. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

c. In private collection. Findspot: uncertain. D. 21-24 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen. The three specimens are struck by the same boulloterion.

Unpublished. Parallels: *Zacos, Seals*, I, no. 2802 b, struck by the same boulloterion.

Obv. Monogram with Greek letters (pl. I, 7) consisting of the name Ἰωάννου and the office νοτάριου.

Rev. Inscription of three lines in Latin:

.ЧICA | RIЧTh. | aCIS

+ Ἰωάννου νοτάριου [(kai)] vicariu Th[r]acis

B.

Historical Museum, Nova Zagora. Found in the locality "Kalyata" near the town of Shivachevo, district of Sliven in 1997 by treasure-hunters. D. 20-22 (17) 5.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The surface of the seal is corroded.

Unpublished.

Parallels: *Zacos, Seals*, I, no. 2802 a, struck by the same boulloterion.

Obv. Monogram, as last (pl. I, 7).

Rev. Inscription of three lines in Latin:

ETЧ. | CARIЧ. | R A C..

+ Ἰωάννου νοτάριου et v[i]cariu [Th]rac[is]

The above specimens belonged to John, notarios and vicarios of Thrace, i.e. the Civil Official of the diocese Thrace. He acted under the civil activities in the diocese and headed the administration, fiscal, justice and police. He was also the responsible person for collecting taxes. Twice a year he worked out detailed report to the prefect of the pretoria about the situation within the province ruled by him. He settled in large residence building situated in the main city of the province (see *Palanque, I. R. Essai sur la Prefecture du Pretoire du Bas-Empire*, Paris, 1933).

The discovery of the seals in Akhtopol and mostly in the locality "Kalyata" near the town of Shivachevo, district of Sliven testify to the regular connection of the local administration with the vicarious of the diocese of Thrace.

35.2 Βαρδάνιος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (second half of the IXth century)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. Findspot: uncertain. D. 28-28 mm; field 25 mm; thickness 2 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

Ed. *Мушмов. Печати*, № 27.

Parallels: In the collection of *Zacos* another specimen with the same inscription and representation is preserved but it is struck by a different die (see *Zacos, Seals*, I, no. 1750 A).

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ΤΩ-СΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.RAPΔ | .. 'ΠΑΤΡ' | Α'СΠ'ССТР' | ..ΘΡΑΚ'

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βαρδ[αν(ίω)] πατ(ρική) β' (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρίω) (καὶ) στρ(α)τ(η)γῷ Θράκ(ης)

Before commenting on the person of owner of this seal, we could outline our uncertainty concerning the reading of the omonym. The first three letters of second line at the end of the omonym are vague or effaced, but they are 2 or 3 and more for the name RAPΔ[A]. Thus a possible reading is RAPΔ[AN(H)], RAPΔ[AL(H)] etc. We assumed the name Bardanes as the correct reading because there are known as seals other written sources reporting the name of person (or persons) occupying the same positions during the second half of the IXth century.

The dating of the seal is to the second half of the IXth century according the underlined letter R.

Usually the name Bardanes is related to Armenian names. Some officials and often military officers with such a name are known from the second half of the IXth century (see *Каждан, Армяне*, № 37).

35.3 Ἰωάννης πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης (IXth-Xth centuries)

Historical Museum, Shoumen, no. 14700. Findspot: Develt. D. 22.5-24.5 mm; field 22.3 mm; thickness 4.5 mm; 6.8 g.

A well centered and uniform but incomplete imprint. Holed twice in its upper part.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Circular inscription between two borders of dots:

+ΚΕΡΟΗ.....VΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..ΩAN. | .ΑΤΡΙΚ' R'. | СΠΑΘΑΡ'СC | ΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ. | ΩΝΘΡΑΚΙC

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ [Ἰωάν[η] πατρικ(ίω) β'][(πρωτο)] σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατηγῷ [τ]ῶν Θράκис or τῶν Θρακησίων

35.4 Ἰωάννης πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης (IXth century)

Historical Museum, Shoumen, no. 14695. Findspot: Develt. D. 26-28 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 4.5 mm. W. 9.7 g.

The imprint is incomplete because it is struck on the lower part of the blank.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΙΩΠ... | .ΑΣΠΑΘ'. | .ΤΡΑΤ'ΤΗC | .ΡΑΚΗC

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθε τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰω(άννη) π[ατρ(ική) β'][(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω)] [(καὶ) σ]τρατ(ηγῷ) τῆς [Θ]ράκης

35.5 Λέων β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (20s-40s of the IXth century)

Archaeological base, Debelt, no. 191. Found during archaeological excavations of the commerciaría in sector A-II, sq. 91.

D. 26-29 mm; field 27 mm; thickness 4 mm. Good imprint but blank was too small for die and some portions are out of it. Well-preserved specimen

Ed. *Йорданов. Девети*, № 55. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ΤΩ-ΣΩ||Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΛΕΩ. | ΘΡΑΨΑΨΑ. | ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ. | ΤΗΘΡΑ.

+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Λέω[ν]τῇ β'(πρωτο)σπα[θ](αρίῳ) [(καὶ) στρατηγ[ῶ]
τῆς Θρά[κ]ης]

35.6 Σισίνιος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης (IXth century)

Historical Museum, Shoumen, no. 14696. Findspot: Develt. D. 27-28 mm; field 26 mm; thickness 3 mm. W. 13.8 g.

The imprint is incomplete.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΣΙΣΙΝ | ΗΩΠΑΤΡ' | .ΑΣΠΑΘ' | .ΣΤΡΑΤ' | Τ'ΘΡΑΚ

+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Σισινίῳ πατρ(ικίῳ) [β'] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ)]
στρατ(ηγῶ) τ(ῆς) Θράκ(ης)

35.7 Γρηγοῤ̃ς ? β' σπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (first half of the IXth century)

Historical Museum, Yambol, no. II 5464. Found in the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Yambol.

D. 23-23.5 mm; field over 23 mm; thickness 2 mm. Incomplete imprint and badly preserved specimen. The reading of the title is uncertain.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Scarcely visible contours of cruciform invocative monogram.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.... | .PARC | ΠΑΘ'ΣΤΡ | .ΙΓ'ΘΡΑ | ΚΗC

[+Γρηγο]ρῶ β'σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρ[ατ]ιγ(ῶ) Θράκης

35.8 N.,καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (the 20s-40s of the IXth century)

Archaeological Base, Develt, no. 217. Found during archaeological excavations of the commercia in sector A-I, sq. 77.

D. 13.5-26 mm; field over 26 mm; thickness 3 mm. Fragment smaller than a half of the originally incomplete imprint. This makes the reading problematic.

Ed. Йорданов, *Девелт*, № 61.

No parallels known.

Obv. The only preserved part of cruciform invocative monogram is l. arm. Visible of inscription in the quarters is: ΤΩ -.. || Δ8 - ..

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

...Ω. |ΙΤ |Τ'.. | ..ΔΚΗ

+Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ [σῶ] δού[λῳ] Λέω[ν] [στρα]τ(ηγ)[ῶ] Θρ[ά]κ(ης)

35.9 Ἰσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (Xth-XIth centuries)

a-c. The three specimens are struck by the same die. Findspot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 234-235.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Circular inscription along border of dots: +ΚΕΡΟΙΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

... | ΗCΑΚΙC | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘ' | CΤΡΑΤΙ | ΓΩCΘΡΑ | ΚΙC

Ἰσαάκις β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρατιγῶς Θράκ(ης)

35.10 Βασίλειος Ἀργυρὸς πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (the 20s-40s of the XIth century)

a-b. Findspot: strategia of Preslav.

c. Historical Museum, Shoumen. Findspot: Silistra. D. 14-26 mm; field 25 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. A half of the specimen is missing.

The three specimens are struck by the same die.

Ed. a-b: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 232-233; c: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons rising from base.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- ❖ - | +RACIA | ΠΑΤΡΙΚ. | CΤΡΑΤΗΓ | ΘΡΑΚΗCΩ | ΑΡΓΥΡΟ

+Βασίλ(ειος) πατρίκ(ιος) [(καὶ)] στρατηγ(ός) Θράκης ὡ Ἀργυρό(ς)

The information obtained from different narrative sources and attendant analysis could be supplemented by the opinion of Al. Kazhdan. He has expressed some doubt about identification of Basil Argyrus, strategos of Samos dispatched to Italy in 1011 as Basil Messardonites, katepano of Italy after 1010. The author also has assumed that there were more than one person bearing the name Basil Argyrus and every case must be considered separately (Kazhdan, *Some notes*, 69-70, no. 4).

Naturally, these scrupulous attempts for identification one or another persons are in order, all the more so when seals are concerned. But the inscription of the seal is indisputable and it points the name of Βασίλειος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης ὁ Ἀργυρὸς. This information is unknown from other sources. This specimen dates generally to the 20s-40s of the XIth century.

35.11 Χασάνης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (the mid XIth century)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 124. Found by Russian archeological expedition in 1899-1900. D.

25-27 mm; field over 25 mm; thickness 3 mm. Good imprint but visibly the blank was too small for the die.

Ed. Панченко, ИРАИК, X, 294-295, Табл. LVIII.2 а-б; Йорданов, *Плиска*, № 32.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand set on shield resting on the ground.

Vertical inscription: .-Ε-Ω-Ρ || Γ-Ι-Ο'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΧΑCΑΝΗ | ΠΡΙΑΝΘVΠ' | ΤΩCΤΡΑ | ΤΙΓ'ΘΡΑ | -ΚΗC-

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Χασάνη π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) ἀνθυπ(ά)τῳ (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ) Θράκης

The original publication dated the seal to the time of Basil II (976-1025) or a short time later. In our publication the proposed dating is to the 50s-60s of the XIth century.

The name Chassan or Hassan is from Arabian-Turkish origin. In current case it is a personal name but not patronym. Various collections in the world preserve seals of the Byzantine dignitaries bearing the same name:

1. In the collection of Zacos a specimen is preserved of Χασσάν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγγλαβίου, which is dated by its publisher to IXth-Xth centuries (see Zacos, *Seals*, II, nos. 107 a-b).

2. G. Schlumberger has published a seal of his collection found in Trebizond, which belonged to Χασάνης στρατῶρ τοῦ λογοθέσιου. The author dated the seal to IXth-Xth centuries (see Schlumberger, *MA*, 260-261, no. 114). The same seal was republished by V. Laurent, who has determined that Hassan was a strator *epi tou* logothetes of the Genikon and dated the seal to the Xth century (see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 407). It is difficult to discuss this opinion because illustrations of the seal are absent except the facsimile from the original publication. The dating generally to the IXth-Xth centuries is acceptable.

3. In the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum a specimen is preserved belonging to Χασάνης πρωτοσπαθάριος (see Konstantopoulos, no. 518β), which could be generally dated to XIth century.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ'|ΧΑCΑΝΩ|Α'CΠΑΘ'Ρ'.

4. In the collections of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.1106) and Zacos, III, no. 1298, two unpublished specimens are preserved of Χασάνης ὑπατος, which could be generally dated to XIth century.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ in l. arm.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ'ΙΤΩCΩΔ'ΙΧΑCΑΝ ΙΩ|VΠΑΤΩ

5. Among the seals of unpublished collection Shaw no. 967 (1149) there is one belonging to Χασάνης στρατηγός with following inscription:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion.

Rev.|ΝΕ.....|ΓΟΝΤ..|ΧΑCΑΝ..|CΚΕΠΟΙC

Its metrical text and the office strategos refer the dating of the seal not later than the third quarter of the XIth century (because later on this position developed in katepano and doux. See **Cheyne**, *Du stratege au duc*, 181-183).

6. An unpublished specimen is preserved in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.4455) of one Ἀβιδέλας ἄνθρωπος τοῦ προέδρου Χασάνη, which could be dated to the third quarter of the XIth century.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ'Ι|ΑΡ'ΔΕΛΑ|ΤΩΑΝΩΠΡ|Τ8ΧΑ..|ΝΗ

It is obscure whether this one was the owner of the seal from Pliska or he was some other Hassan.

6. Some of the letters of the Michael Pselos are addressed to the judge of Macedonia, vestarches Hassan (see **Pselos**, *MB*, V, 38, 39, 172). The letters are not definitely dated but their contents suggest that this one Hassan was a disciple of Pselos and occupied the position of judge of Macedonia during the 70s of the XIth century (see **Любарский**, *Михаил Псел*, 102-103, 109, 111). Another question arises: if the title in the address τῷ βεστάρχη καὶ κριτῇ Μακεδονίας τῷ Χασάνη (see **Pselos**, *MB*, V, 444-172) and also πρὸς τὴν βεστάρχη καὶ κριτὴν Μακεδονίας τὸν Χασάνην (see **Pselos**, *MB*, V, 272-40) is the omonym or patronym of the judge. We can assume that it concerns a personal name and hence this Hassan was actually an ancestor of the patronym, which legalized his heirs, for instance David Hassanopoulos, etc.

However, it is possible that the title of the letters of Pselos pointed only to the patronym of the recipient, who could be the owner of the seal from Pliska too. Therefore we have to present the dignitaries bearing the patronym Χασάνης during XIth century:

1. Βασίλειος ὁ τοῦ Φιλοσόφως ὁ Χασάνης, μάγιστρος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ πρωτονοτάριος known by two unpublished specimens from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.4091 and DO 55.6.38 2407), which are dated to the third quarter of the XIth century.

a) Obv. St. Basil standing frontally half-length facing to l. toward Manus dei in l. upper field.

Rev. -+|..CΙΛΕ..|ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΟ|ΚΡΙΤ'Τ8ΡΗΛ8|Α'ΝΟΤΑΡΙΩΤΟ|Τ8 ΦΙΛΟC |ΦΩΤΩΧ|ΑCΑΝΗ

b) Obv. St. Basil, as last.

Rev. RAC....|ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩΚΡ|ΤΗΤΟVΡΙΑΟV|ΤΩΧΑCΑΝΙ|ΤΩΝΤ8|ΛΟCΟΦΩ

It is unclear what the connection was between this Basil and our Hassan, but surely he was in connection with the recipient of Michael Pselos.

2. Θεόδωρος Χασάνης - without title and position. He is presented by his seal from the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 699), which is dated to the third quarter of the XIth century.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'Ι|ΘΕΟΔΩΡ'Ι|ΤΟΝΧΑ|ΑCΝΗΝ

3. Νικήτας ὁ τοῦ Χασάνης πρωτοσπαθάριος, who is represented by his unpublished seal from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks dated to the second half of the XIth century (DO 58.106.2327).

Obv. St. Niketas standing holding spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on shield set on the ground.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ'Ι|ΤΩCΩΔ8 |ΝΙΚΗΤΑΑ'Ι|CΠΑΘΑΡ'Ω|ΤΟΤ8ΧΑ|CΑΝ

4. In the Corpus of V. Laurent presenting the seal of Hassan, strator *epi tou* logothetes of the Genikon, the names Bardas and Leo Hassan are reported according to the data of their seals from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks. The two last mentioned, though, are related to the family Kazan.

What were the relations between these persons known by various data?

The first two persons (seals no. 1 and no. 2) have to be ignored. They are from the period IXth-Xth centuries. The owner of the third seal could be related to the seal from Pliska. Besides chronological continuity of the title, the iconography subject of these two seals is equal as well as the name. It reflects an earlier period in the career of Hassan. The same holds for no. 3. It is uncertain also if the seal no. 5 with metrical text belonged to the same dignitary. This seal is chronologically later than one from Pliska and the saint is different. The seal no. 6 also could be related to the owner of the seal from Pliska, of the Abidela anthropos *epi tou* proedros Hassan, not only because he was anthropos of Hassan but also because the iconography subject of his seal is the same as this one of Hassan. This seal indirectly reflects a later stage of the career of Hassan, when he was proedros.

We could not define the recipient of the correspondence of Michael Pselos. The adduced data show that this Hassan was well-known to society. His nephew holding quite high dignity and having two seals did not miss to legalize himself by this relative of his, who also held the title or appellation philosopher.

Undoubtedly the seal of Pliska caused too much discussion. For instance, why did Hassan introduce himself only with personal name? After occupying an office in the Empire, he was converted and a Christian name was given to him.

35.11a Κατακαλὼν σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Θράκης (XIth century)

Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 22194. D. 23-25 (20) 2.5 mm. W. 7.40 g. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 227. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform monogram (pl. I.15) consisting invocation: ΘΚΕΡΩ. In each quarter, small sphere.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΚΑΤΑΚ | .ΠΑΘ'ΚΑΝ | .STPOM. | .ΗΘΡΑ. | ΗC

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βω(ήθει) Κατακ(αλὼν) [σ]παθ(αρ)οκαν[δ(ιδάτω)] (καὶ) τρομ(ά)[ρχ]η

Θρά[κ]ης

In both publications, original and present, the reading is problematic. The current proposal seems to be more acceptable for the time being, not only because of the sudden idea in the reading but also due to the new information. A seal has testified to the existing of a turmarches of Thrace even though concerning an earlier period (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 71.39). In the strategia of Preslav a seal has been found belonging perhaps to the same Katakalon, spatarocandidatos and turmarches of Arkadioupolis, the main city of the thema Thrace. Probably these positions were held by one and the same official and they prompt the number of the turmas of the thema Thrace. The fact that Arkadioupolis was the main city of the thema Thrace shows the possible connection with the founding of the large number of specimens coming from this city to Preslav and some allude to the thema and others - to its main city. It should be recalled that Preslav belonged to the thema Thrace during several periods.

35.12 Σισίνιος χαρτουλάριος τῆς Θράκης (VIIIth-IXth centuries)

Plaster cast from the collection of Prof. T. Gerassimov. Uncertain place of storage of the original. A notice on the reverse reports that the original was in possession of D-r Zlatanov. D. 26 mm; field over 26 mm. Incomplete imprint. The peripheral letters of the monogram are not imprinted or they are effaced later on. In the reading of the text a certain problem is the omonym and the indiction. Only contours are preserved from its marks. They could be A, Λ or Δ.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ΤΩ-CΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ .IC | .NNHΩΧ | .PTOYΛΑ | ΤΩΝΘΡΑ | ΚΙC + Δ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ [Σ]ισ[ι]ννήῳ χ[α]ρτουλα(ρίῳ) τῶν Θράκης

(Ἰνδικτιῶν) Δ'

This concerns χαρτουλάριος τῶν θεμάτων, a military office for maintaining the registers and entering the names of the soldiers from the correspondent thema. This official also inspected their commissariat and property. He was directly subordinated to the logothetes of the Stratiotikon (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 341, 364).

35.13 Βασιλικά κομμέρκια τῆς Θράκης (808-809 and 810-811)

a. Archaeological Base, Develt. Found during archaeological excavations in the ancient city on the so-called "Ancient theatre" in 1989. D. 26-26 mm; field 2 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Portions of the representation and inscription are out of the blank.

b. In private collection (a plaster cast was given to us by D. Draganov from Historical Museum in Yambol). It helps define the circumstances concerning the finding of the seal. The surface is oxidized.

c. In private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Findspot: uncertain. D. 23-25 mm; field over 25 mm; thickness 3-4 mm. W. 14.758 g. The imprint is incomplete because it is struck on the lower part of the blank.

The three specimens are struck by different boulloteria.

Ed. a: **Балболюва-Иванова М.** Деветл през VIII-X в.- *Векове*, 1-2, 1991, с. 55, пл. с. 55; b-c: Unpublished. No direct parallels known.

Obv. Bust of Nikephoros I, bearded on l. and Staurakios beardless on r., facing; both wear crown with cross, divitision and chlamys. In field above cross.

Below busts: a-b: + Γ = (Ἰνδίκτιών) γ'

c: + Β = (Ἰνδίκτιών) β'

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΤΩΝΒ' | .ΟΜΕΡΚΙ | .ΝΤΙCΘ

Τὼν β(ασιλικὼν) | κ]ομέρκι[ω]ν | τις Θ(ράκης)

The publisher of the first specimen has assumed that it is a seal of emperor Constantine VI and his mother Irene, and the commerciaris is Antiocheas. It is difficult to define what the reasons were for this assumption. None of the presented personages wears, feminine crown. It is unclear how the publisher deciphered the toponym Antiocheas.

The seals bearing these representations and inscriptions are known in the literature (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 281 a-c) and they could be assigned to the mutual rule of Nikephoros I Genikos and his son Staurakios (803-811).

The seals found in Bulgaria supplemented this information with indictions β' and γ' inscribed on them. Hence, these seals were received in Develtos and somewhere in southeastern Bulgaria in 810-811, i.e. right before invasion of the emperor Nikephoros I Genikos in Bulgaria, when Develtos was yet within the limits of the Byzantine Empire.

35A. Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας

Military unit established after the conquest of eastern Bulgaria by the Byzantines in 971. The sphragistic monument presented below is the sole source of evidence for his existence.

After my publication, in which I assumed that this administrative and military unification was effected in July/August 971, including all newly seized eastern Bulgarian lands (see **Йорданов**, *Дамян Добромир*, 97-100), various opinions were advanced regarding the chronology, localization and person of the titular.

According to D. Stoimenov, the dating of that unification is after the staffing of the taktikon of Oikonomides, i.e. after 976, in connection with some great external threat to the empire. According to him, that danger sprang from the movement of the komitopouloi (see **Стоименов**, *Временна*, 53-55).

I. Bozhilov suggests its dating is after 1000, because after the conquest of Great and Little Preslav and Pliska, Byzantine power was restored in the lands of the south to the Danube River, and those beyond the Danube, which until then had been ruled by a Byzantine (the author of the anonym of Chaze), were joined to the empire, thus creating a large territorial union encompassing all of eastern Bulgarian lands (**Божилев**, *И. Бележки върху византийската администрация в Северозточна България (971-1000)*.- *Сборник в чест на акад. Христо Христов*, С., 1988, 19-27; **Божилев-Гюзелев**, *История*, с. 352).

As far as the time of the existence and envelopment of the duchy of Thrace and Mesopotamia, useful is the suggestion advanced by Al. Magearu, but he assumes that the titular Doux of Thrace Damianos Dobromiros is identical with the nobleman of Samuel who handed the Byzantines the city of Berroia in 1000 or 1001, and who was of Vlach origin (**Magearu**, *Paradunavon*, p. 422; **Idem**, *Restoration*, 17-18).

According to N. Oikonomides, Damianos Dobromiros was Slavic, probably Bulgarian, an associate of the Byzantines, appointed by the emperor to that important post in 971 or shortly thereafter. Like

other dukes of that time, he was a commander of a detachment of heavy cavalry from the Byzantine tagma deployed to the north, somewhere in the Danube delta, against an adversary threatening the empire from the north, and who in no case can be identified with Bulgarians, but rather with Russians. There were also soldiers from the thema Thrace under his command (see **Oikonomides**, *Premiere occupation*, 584-585).

The last opinion we will note here is that of T. Wasilevski, which constitutes an alternate view to those already presented, sketched in several papers generally dealing with the same problematic.

He assumes that the seals of Damianos Dobromiros, anthypatos, patrikios and doux of Thrace and Mesopotamia, have nothing whatever to do with the Byzantine administration of the Balkans and in particular the Danubian borderlands. According to him, Damianos Dobromiros was Bulgarian in origin, the famous *katarchontes* of Berroia, married to the cousin of Tzar Samuel, who in 1002 handed the city over to Basile II. He was given the rank of anthypatos and appointed doux of Mesopotamia, including the territory between the Tigres and Euphrates, where strathiotes from the thema Thrace were dispatched for a military operation (see **Wasilewski**, *T. L'administration byzantine dans la vallee du Bas-Danube au X^e et XI^e siecles, selon la sigillographie*.- *Dobrudja*, 12, 1995, 190-203).

In this broad array of opinion it is as though the importance of the office of Damianos Dobromiros drops from sight. One is inclined to forget what the title of doux, the position of Dobromiros, actually meant (see commentary below).

During the period under scrutiny (last fourth of the Xth century) and in connection with changes in the Byzantine army, instituted by Emperor Nikephoros II Phoka, a doux is not an administrative gouverneur but the commander of units of a tagma, residing in that respective thema. In crisis situations and military conflicts, strategoi in neighboring smaller temes are his subordinates. This is how a strategic belt of the empire was created, consisting of doukoi, katepanoi and associated strategoi. This is characteristic especially for border regions.

In concrete terms: in the Balkan peninsula, over against the Bulgarian state, two dukedoms were established: Adrianopolis and Thessalonica. According to the author of the Eskurial tactics, detachments of heavy cavalry were stationed there to confront the Bulgarian threat.

Consequently, Damianos Dobromiros should not be viewed as a gouverneur of an administrative unit of Thrace and Mesopotamia, but as a military commander, commanding sections of a tagma, stationed in the newly conquered eastern Bulgarian lands, somewhere in the Danubian delta, to confront some military threat to the empire; and, as Oikonomides emphasizes, soldiers from the thema Thrace were also placed under his command.

Bibliography: **Йорданов**, *Дамян Добромир*, 97-100; **Oikonomides**, *Mesopotamie*, 57-59; **Idem**, *Listes*, 362-363; **Божилев**, *Хазе*, 185-198; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 221-222; **Стоименов**, *Временна*, 53-55.

35A.14 Δαμιανός Δοβρομυρός ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας (971-?)

A.

Archaeological Museum Preslav, no. 20152. D. 28-28 (27) 4.5 mm. W. 21.45 g. Good and complete imprint but some of the letters, especially on the reverse, are erased.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 237. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines, preceded by an ornament:

- • - | +ΔΑΜΙ | ΑΝΩΑΝ | ΘΥΠΑΤΩ | ΠΑΤΡΗ | ΚΙΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΚΕΔΘ | .ΗΘΡΑ | ..CSME | СОПОТА | ΜΗΑΣ

+Δαμιανῶ ἀνθύπατῳ πατρικίῳ κὲ δου[κ]ῇ Θρά[κης] (καὶ) Μεσοποταμίας

B.

Archaeological Museum Preslav, no. 16915. D. 26-28 (22 ?) 2 mm. W. 6.58 g. Incomplete imprint, the final letters are missing and some were later erased.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 238. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ΔΑΜΗ | .Ν'ΑΝΘΥ | ..Τ'ΠΑΤΡΙ | .ΚΕΔΟΥ | ΚΗ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΘΡΑΚΗ. | .ΕΜΕCΟΠ. | ΤΑΜΗΑCΩ | ΔΟΡΡΟΜ. | -ΡΟ-
+Δαμη[α]ν(ῶ) ἀνθυ[πά]τ(ω) πατρι[k(ίω)] κὲ δουκὴ Θράκη[ς] κὲ Μεσοπ[ο]ταμίας (τ)ῶ
Δοβρομ[ι]ρο

35B. Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως

This thema was reported for the first time in the Escorial tactic. It included besides thema Thrace the new conquered Bulgarian lands south of the Danube and perhaps this was the boundary line of the dukedom Adrianoupolis. The sphragistic data here show the names at least of three strategoi. The earliest is that of Leon Sarakenopoulos and the latest is of Nikephoros Xiphias. In the latest research so far (see *Oikonomides*, *Premiere occupation*, 583-584) the conclusion has been drawn that it is not a traditional theme and actually the troops of the theme of Thrace were transferred in the command of the strategos of Ioanopolis for a longer period of time.

Bibliography: *Oikonomides*, *Listes*, S. 265.9, 261, 355; *Тъпкова-Занмова*, *Долният Дунав*, 37-38; *Божилков*, *Хазе*, 123-125; *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, 125-126.

35B.15 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (?-975)

A.

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17565. D. 23-26 (22) 3 mm. W. 9.77 g. Incomplete but well preserved imprint.
b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17214. D. 18-22 (22) 2 mm. W. 3.78 g. Incomplete but well preserved imprint. The blank was smaller than the dies.

The two specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 239-240. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- • - | ΛΕΩΝ | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCTRATH | Γ'ΘΡΑΚΗ | - • -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- • - | ΣΙΩ | ΑΝΝ8ΠΟ | Λ'ΟCΑΡΑ | ΚΙΝΟΠ8 | - Λ -

Λέων β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ός) Θράκη(ς) (καὶ) Ἰωαννουπόλ(εως) ὁ
Σαρακινόπουλ(ος)

B.

The five specimens (recently we documented two other specimens which removed from Preslav) are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 241-243. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- • - | +ΛΕΟ | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCTRAT | ΗΓΩ | - • -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΘΡΑ | ΚΙCSIAN | ΟΠΟΛ'ΟCΑ | ΡΑΚΙΝΟ | Π8ΛΟ'

+Λέο(ν) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ω)ς Θράκης (καὶ) Ἰανοπόλ(εως) ὁ
Σαρακινόπουλ(ος)

C.

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17638. D. 24-26 (24) 3 mm. W. 11.30 g. Full and well-preserved imprint.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 244.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ΛΕΟ | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCTRAT | ΗΓΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΘΡΑ | ΚΙCSIAN8 | ΠΟΛΕΟCΟ | CΑΡΑΚΙΝ | ΟΠ8Λ'

+Λέο(ν) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ω)ς Θράκης (καὶ) Ἰαννουπόλεος ὁ
Σαρακινόπουλ(ος)

In the collection of the Hermitage a tenth specimen is preserved which is struck with a different die (see *Шандровская*, *Болгария*, 460-461).

35B.16 Θεοφάνης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s-80s of the Xth c.)

a-d: The four specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 245-248. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΟ | .Θ'ΤΩCΩ | .8ΛΩΘΕΟ | ΑΝ'Ρ'Α'C | ΠΑΘ'Ρ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

CΤΡΑΤ | ΓΟΘΡΑ. | .SΙΩΠΟ|ΛΕΟC | •

+Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θ(ει) τῷ σῶ [δ]ούλῳ Θεο[φ]άν(η) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(ά)ρ(ίω) (καὶ)
στρατ(η)γο Θρά[κ(η)ς] (καὶ) Ἰω(αννου)πόλεος

35B.17 Σταυράκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (70s-80s of the Xth c.)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22938. D. 12-21 (over 20) 1.5 mm. Half of a specimen whose surviving portion is erased and the image and letters are hardly visible.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 249. No parallels known.

Obv. St. Michael standing, holding labarum (r. hand) and orb (l. hand). Incomplete circular inscription along border of dots: .ΑΡΧΙ. || Τ....

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..TAV | ..Κ'Ρ'Α'C | ...SCT | ..Τ'Θ.Α | ...ΑΝ. | ..Λ

[+] Ἀρχι[σ]τ[ρά]τηγε β[ο]ή[θ]ει [Σ]ταυ[ρα]κ(ίω) β'(πρωτο)σ[πα]θ(αρίω)] (καὶ) στ[ρα]τ(ηγῶ)
Θ[ρ]ά[κ(η)ς] (καὶ) Ἰ(ω)αν[ουπόλ(εως)]

35B.18 Νικηφόρος Ξιφίας β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (?-986)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 18512. D. 27-28 (22?) 2.1 mm. W. 11.00 g. Maybe the imprint was once complete but the copy is badly preserved and broken in two with a piece missing in the upper part. The surface is covered with thick oxides and eroded in some places. All this makes the reading difficult.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 250.

No parallels known.

Obv. Incomplete circular inscription: C . . . Ρ Ο C || . . Η Μ Ι continuing in the quarters between arms of patriarchal cross on three steps represented in the middle O...ΡΩ || ΚΑΙ - Τ.. = Σ[ταυ]ρός
[ε]ημι ο...ρω καὶ τ....

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΝΙΚ. | ΦΟΡ....Α | Θ'SCTP... | ΘΡΑΚΗ.... | ΑΝΩ.ΟΛΕ | ΟCΟΞΙΦΕ |-Α.-

+Νικ[η]φόρ(ος) [β'(πρωτο)σπ]αθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρ[ατ(η)γ(ός)] Θράκη[ς] (καὶ)

Ἰω]αννο[π]όλεος ὁ Ξιφέα[ς]

We would like to add a new observation regarding the positions of Nikephorus Xiphias to the publication quoted above.

The army dispatched by the emperor in 1000 which was led by the patrikios Theodorokanos and the protospatharios Nikephorus Xiphias, was actually commanded by the doux of Adrianoupolis, the patrikios Theodorokanos and the strategos of Thrace and Ioannoupolis Nikephoros Xiphias, subordinate to the doux. These two local generals mopped up the invaders in the freed territory beyond the Haemus Mountain.

35B.19 Ἀδράλεστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (last quarter of the Xth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17262. D. 15-24 (20?) 2 mm. Imprint of bad quality, of which only half has been preserved.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 290. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- • - | +ΑΔ.. | ΛΕC... | Α'CΠ... | ΡΗ.. | - • -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...ΚΠ | ...Π8 | ...ΑΚ. | ...ΑΚ. | ...ΑΝΟ | ..Λ
+ Ἀδ[ρά]λεσ[τος] (πρωτο)σπαθ[α]ρί[ος] (καὶ) ἐκ προσώπου [τῆς] Θρ[ά]κ[ης] (καὶ)
Ἰω[αν]νο(υ)[πό]λ(εως)

The fragmentary character of the material makes the deciphering of the last three lines on the reverse problematic. We gave the following solution in our previous publication: Τ'ΠΑΡ]ΑΔ'Ρ' or ΑΡΚ]ΑΔ'Π' and the patronym Ο CΠ]ΑΝΟ | [Π8]Λ'.

In his review Seibt has assumed that Adralestos was ἐκ προσώπου Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (Seibt, BZ, 89, S. 136). This is not the only possible version but it seems to be acceptable in the light of another seal bearing the name of Adralest who was a πατρίκιος, δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ Ἀνατολῆς (see no. 7.3). The following suggestion based on the above article could be made: Adralestos was a ἐκ προσώπου of the strategos of the Thrace and Iannopolis themes. Later on he rose to a higher title and position and was dispatched to the east where he contacted his relatives or colleagues in northeastern Bulgaria. It is also possible that he or they had sojourned especially in Preslav (Ioannoupolis). Only in this way can we explain the discovery of the seal of Adralestos δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ Ἀνατολῆς in northeastern Bulgaria.

35C. Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας

This temporary administrative unit is known only from the next seal. On it, see about it the individual chapters about Δρίστρας and Θράκης. Generally the same was written by Leo the Deacon: Tzimisces recaptured Mysia for the Byzantines as he added it to Thrace.

35C.20 Δαυίδ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας (1000-?)

a. Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 115. Found in 1949 among coins from Pliska. D. 27-31mm; field 25 mm; thickness 2 mm. Poor and illegible imprint, corroded.

b. Museum of History, Silistra, no. 46. Found on the bank of the Danube River by Al. Boev. Only half is preserved. D. 12-24 mm; thickness 2,5 mm.

The two specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a: Маслев, Печати, 448-450; Йорданов, Плиска, № 13; b: Йорданов, Силистра, II, № 5.

No parallels known.

Obv. Rather damaged bust of a military saint, probably St. Theodore. Visible are his bearded face and a spear and shield in his hands. Badly preserved vertical inscription: Θ- ΘΕ-Ο||

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) +.ΑΔΑ' ΣΠΑΘΑΡ' | ... ΡΑΤ' | ... Α. ... | ΔΡΙCΤΡ'

b) ... | ΠΑ ... | SCTP ... | Θ'ΡΑ. ... | ΔΡΙ ...

a+b: +[Δ]α(υ)ίδ (πρωτο)σπαθάρ(ιος) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγ)ός Θρά[κης] (καὶ) Δρίστρ(ας)

The main problem with the interpretation of the text of this seal is to define the time when David was put at the head of the administrative unit of Thrace and Dristra.

There are two alternative views on this problem in the literature: the first one is that this happened at the time of the invasion of the Pechenegs during the 1020s-1030s (Тъпкова-Займова, Долни Дунав, 55-59) and the second one has defined that this administrative unit was established perhaps after the reconquering of northeastern Bulgaria in 1000 and David was its first strategos (Божилев, Хазе, p. 131).

It is interesting that the title of David was quite low to be strategos of such an administrative unit during the 1020s-1030s (although this was not an obligatory requirement).

35D. Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας

During the XIth century these two themes were more often united than disunited but this involved in the main their civil government. The titularies were mainly judges and their duty was to administer the themes. The military defense was in charge of the doux of Adrianoupolis.

35D.21 Πέτρος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (XIth century)

In a private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: not specified. D. 26-26.5 mm. W. 9.374 g. Incomplete but well preserved imprint.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

ΠΕΤ.. | Α'CΠΑΘ'. | ΠΙΤ'ΧΤ. | ΚΛΗΝ. | ΚΡΙ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..ΠΙΤ' | ΙΠΟΔΡ' | .ΘΡΑΚ' | .ΙΜΑΚ' | ..ΝΙ'

Πέτ[ρος] (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) [ἐ]πὶ τ(οῦ) χρυσοτ[ρι]κλ[ίν]ου κρι[τ]ῆς [ἐ]πὶ τ(οῦ) ἵπποδρ[ό]μ[ου] Θρ[ά]κ[ης] [κ(α)]ι Μακ(ε)[δ]ονί(ας)

The owner is unknown in other sources. The seal dates generally to the early XIth century.

35D.22 Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς βεστάρχης, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (70s-80s of the XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 21579. D. 29.6-30 (23) 3 mm. W. 18.18 g. A complete imprint, very well-preserved. Nevertheless, some of the peripheral letters are slightly erased. It has been partially harmed with a pickaxe during its discovery by me.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 251. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion of Christ before her. On either side sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΩΡΕCΤΑΡ | ΧΗΚΡΙΤΗΤ8 | ΡΗΛ'ΘΡΑΚΗC | ΚΕΜΑΚΕΔΟ | ΝΙΑΤΩΡΑ | ΔΗΝΩ

+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) βεστάρχη κριτῇ τοῦ βήλου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονί(ας) τῷ Ραδηνῷ

35D.23 Στέφανος ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτῆς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (XIth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia. Found in 1995 during archaeological excavations in Silistra. D. 17-25 mm. Half of a seal.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕ.. | ΤΩCΩ.. | ΛΩCΤ... | .CHΚ.. | Τ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..ΡΙ | ..ΘΡΑ | ..CΚΑΙ | ..ΚΕΔ. | ..ΑC

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ [δού]λῳ Στ[εφ(ά)ν(ω) ἀ]σηκ[ρή]τ[η] [(καὶ) κ]ρι[τῇ] Θρ[ά]κ[ης] καὶ [Μα]κεδ[ονί]ας

This judge of Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας is unknown in other sources. A seal which belonged to Στέφανος ἀσηκρήτης is found in Silistra (see Barnea, Durostorum, no. 8). It is possible that he was the person in question.

35D.24. Νικόλαος Ζουνναρᾶς κριτῆς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (last quarter of the XI century)

In a private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 30-35 (30) ? mm. W. 19.5 g. The depiction of the obverse is completely obliterated and cut. The first letters of all lines on the reverse are missing.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 162, no. 1. Now in the Hermitage (M-6044), see **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 703. In the Hermitage collection there are two other molybdebulls of the same type (M-125; M-10647), see: **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 235, n.3.

Obv. Completely obliterated surface.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΚΟΛΑΩ | ΠΙΘΘΡΑ | ΙΚΚΑΙΜΑ | ΕΛΟΝΙΑC | ΤΩΖΟΝ | ΑΡΑ
+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)ϑ(ει) [N]ικαλάω [κ]ριτῇ Θρά[κ]ις καὶ Μα[κ]εδονίας τῷ Ζουναρᾷ

If we accept that the patronym inscribed on the seal is Zonaras, then members of this family named Nicholas are attested both in the narrative and sphragistic sources.

The signature of Νικόλαος Ζωναρᾶς πρωτοβεστάρχης, μέγας χαρτουλάριος τοῦ στρατιοτικοῦ λογοθεσίου, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου is placed on a document of the monastery Christodoulos on the Patmos peninsular, dated to May, 1088 (see: *Patmos*, I, 49Δ.323).

The name perhaps of another Nicholas Zonaras in his capacity as πρωτοασκριτῆς is attested in 1157 and 1176 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1041; *Patmos*, I, 221 and 224).

The following groups of monuments with the name of Nicholas Zonaras are known, where he is:

1) μάγιστρος καὶ κριτῆς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 162, no. 2).

2) δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 893).

3) κουροπαλάτης (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 346; **Stavrakos**, no. 87).

4) As a private person, according to an unpublished bulla in the collection of Fogg A. M., no. 1481 (see **Stavrakos**, p. 158, n. 279).

They all are dated from the last quarter of the XIth c. to the beginning of the XIIth c., and thus could be related to the person of Nicholas Zonaras of 1088. They reflect earlier and later periods of his life.

36. Θρακήσιοι

This theme was situated in Asia Minor but its name was connected with the troops from Thrace whose garrison camped there. Their main city was Ephesus. A turmarches of this theme was reported for the first time in 711 and a strategos in 741.

Bibliography: **Pertusi**, *De Them.*, p. 124; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, p. 348; **Kühn**, *Armee*, 47, 165, 169, 256.

36.1 Ἰωάννης βεστάρχης, μέγας χαρτουλάριος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Θρακησίων (70s of the XIth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 21. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 31-32 mm. Well centered and imprinted seal but some portions of the inscription are damaged or badly imprinted.

Ed. **Мухомов**, *Нечетно*, № 43.

Parallels: Another specimen struck with the same bulloterion has been offered for sale at an auction in Zurich (see Zurich, Auction 26, 7-8 November 1994, no. 651).

Obv. The Virgin seated on a backless throne, holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: ΜΡ ||

Θ̅V. Inscription between two borders of dots:

+ΘΚΕΡΟΗ...ΩΡΕCΤΑΡ...ΕΓΑΛΩΧΑΡΤΟV

Rev. Inscription continues between two borders of dots:

+ΚΡΙΤΗΤΟVΡΗΛΟVΚΑΙΤΩΝΘ.Α..CΙΩΝ

In the middle, bust of St. George holding spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Γ-Ε || Ω-Ρ-Γ

+Θ(εοτό)κε βοή[ϑ]ει Ἰω(άννη) βεστάρ[χη] μεγάλω χαρτου(λαρίω) κριτῇ τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Θ[ρ]α[κ]η[σ]ίων

37. Insulae (Νῆσοι)

This province included islands currently called Dodekanesoi. Its civil and administrative ruler was Praefectus Insularum (see **Hierocles**, p. 31).

37.1 Theodorus Praefectus Insularum (Vth-VIth centuries)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-24 mm. Good imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Rostovtsew-Prou**, no. 825; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2928 but they are struck with a different bulloterion.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

Th | ΕΟΔΟ | ΡΟς

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

PRÉ | FECTI | INSΥ

Theodoros Prefecti Insu(larum)

38. Ἰωαννουπόλεως

This city was captured by the Byzantines on Easter 971 but it was renamed most probably in late July or August of the same year after signing the peace treaty with the Russians and finishing the military campaign. The city was named Ἰωαννουπόλεως until the end of the Byzantine domination in the Xth century.

According to the sphragistic information, the city was initially a centre of an independent strategeia and after that it was added to Dorostolon. Later on, at the time of the Escorial Tactic, Ἰωαννουπόλεως was merged with the Thrace theme. Leon Sarakenopoulos was strategos of the latter two administrative units.

Bibliography: **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 269; **Божилев**, *Леон Саракинопул*, 98-106; **Йорданов**, *Нови данни*, 104-114; **Jordanov**, *La strategie*, 89-97; **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, 134-136.

38.1 Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως (971-?)

A.

a-c. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav.

d. In a private collection. Probably it has been brought out of Preslav. D. 29-31 mm. Incomplete imprint.

The four specimens are struck with the same bulloterion.

Ed. a-c: **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 252-254; d. Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. In the middle, Θ; eight rays focus on it; the lower extremities of four rays are engraved with small spheres and the other four rays with arrows upwards. The higher extremities are engraved with letters consisting of the invocation: +ΚΕΡΟΤΩCΩΔ'.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΟΡ'Α' | CΠΑΘ'SC | ΤΡΑΤΙΗΑ | Ν8ΠΟΛ'
+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)ϑ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Κατακαλὸ(ν) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ)
στρατι(γῷ) Ἰ(ω)αννουπόλ(εος)

B.

The three specimens are struck with the same low dies as the preceding four specimens. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav.

a-b: Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 255-256.

No parallels known.

c: in private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). D: 28-29 mm.

Unpublished.

Obv. Pentagram; in the middle, small sphere; at the top of every ray, similar sphere; in each field between the rays, other five spheres.

Rev. Inscription as last, struck with the same die:

+ΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΟΡ'Α' | CΠΑΘ'SC | ΤΡΑΤΙΗΑ | Ν8ΠΟΛ'

The main problem with the reading of the text was to decipher the toponym inscribed with the following letters: HAN8ΠΟΛ'. The first three letters are illegible and the reading ΗΛΗ 8ΠΟΛ' is also possible. Thus the toponym could be read as Ἰ(ω)αν(ν)ουπόλ(εος) or Ἰ(λ)ηουπόλ(εος). We assumed the first version in our previous publications.

The name Ἰανῆς = Ἰωάννης noted in a proto-Bulgarian legend provides a certain parallel with the etymology of the toponym HAN8ΠOΛ' = Ἰωαννουπόλεως (see Бешевлиев, *Първобългарски*, № 47.18-19).

The coincidence already noted between the names of the turmarches of Arkadioupolis and Thra- ce and also of the strategos of Ioanopolis raises the question whether the official who have consecu- tively occupied the mentioned positions was one and same person.

38.2 Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως (970s)

a-b. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

c. In a private collection. Probably it has been taken out of Preslav. D. 23-26.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The three specimens are struck with the same bulloterion.

Ed. a-b: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 257-258; c: Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from base. Circular inscription along bor- der of dots: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΠΕΤΡ | ΟΡ'Α'CΠΑ | Θ'SCTPA | ΤΙΓΩΙΑ. | . 8ΠΟΛ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Πέτρο β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατιγῷ
Ἰωαν[ν]ουπόλ(εως)

38A. Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου

38A.3 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου (?- 975)

A.

The thirteen specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 259-271.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

... | +ΛΕΟΝ | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘ'S | CTPATIG' | ΙΩΑΝ8Π | ΟΛ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

... | +ΣΔΟΡ | ΟCΤΟΛΟ | ΟCΑΡΑΚ | ΙΝΟΠΝΛ

+ Λέων β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ός) Ἰωαννουπόλ(εως) (καὶ) Δοροστόλο(υ) ὁ
Σαρακινόπυλ(ος)

B.

The six specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 272-277. No parallels known.

Obv. The letters are arranged in the same way as in the last thirteen but they are imprinted with a different die. Perhaps the last thirteen are copied or *vice versa*.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

... | +ΣΔΟΡ | ΟCΤΟΛΟ | ΟCΑΡΑΚΙ | ΝΟΠΝΛ

38.4 Στέφανος μητροπολίτης Ἰωαννουπόλεως (the 70s of the Xth century)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17252. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 20.5-23 (21) 2.1 mm. W. 5.70 g. Good imprint on a thin blank which is still incomplete. Some letters are missing.

b. Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 1212. Found in Pliska. D. 12-23 (21) 2 mm. Half of a previously good imprint.

Ed. a: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 389; b: Йорданов, *Плиска*, № 30. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from base. In the field between the arms a cross is engraved. Circular inscription along border of dots: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟ..

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+CTE | ΦΑΝ'ΘΕΟΦ | ΛΕCΤ'Τ'ΜΗ | ΤΡΟΠ'Λ'ΙΩ | ΑΝ8ΠΟΛ | .ΩC

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δο[ύλ(ω)] Στεφάν(ω) θεοφ(ι)λεστ(ά)τ(ω) μητροπ(ο)λ(ίτη)
Ἰωαννουπόλ[ε]ως

The text of the seal presented beneath is the only proof for the existence of the Ioannoupolis metropolitanate. It illustrates the temporary ecclesiastical structure after the conquest of northeastern Bulgaria. Since its evidence is not supported by any other sources, the suggestions made below form a working hypothesis:

a) it probably refers to Preslav after its renaming in 971;

b) probably the metropolitan of Ioannoupolis was directly subordinate to the Constantinople chair;

c) his diocese may have included not only the dioceses around Preslav but all eastern Bulgarian lands conquered by the Byzantines;

d) thus the symbolically independent Bulgarian church returned to the fold of the Constantinople patriarchate.

As far as Dristra is concerned, another suggestion could be that as an old Christian centre it was proclaimed to be an autocephalous archbishopric which included the city and its vicinity like dozens of other autocephalous archbishoprics in Anchialo, Messembria, Bryseos etc.

39. Καπαδοκίας

This theme was situated in central Asia Minor. Its first strategos was reported in 830. Previously it was a gorge. The sources from the XIth century present this theme as a μεγάλαϊκα θέματα.

Bibliography: Скалабанович, *Виз. государство*, с. 208; Pertusi, *De Them.*, 120-122; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, p. 50; Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 348.

39.1 Κωνσταντῖνος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Καπαδοκίας (XIth century)

a-b: The two specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 278a-6. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from base. Circular inscription along bor- der of dots: ..ΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΟΝC | .ΠΑ'ΚC. | .ΑΠΑΔ. | ΚΙΑC

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε] βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κονστ(α)[ν(τίνω)] πατ(ρικίω) κ(ἐ) στ[ρ(ατηγῷ)]
Κ]απαδ[ο]κίας

The incomplete imprint and unusual abbreviations make it impossible to determine whether the patronym Καπαδοκίας is included and not the toponym.

40. Κερασοῦντος

Modern Giresum, a port on the Black Sea coast, was an economic centre and it was also the end of the road leading to Koloneia (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 4, p. 101).

40.1 Κοσμάς ἀπο ὑπάτων καὶ γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος Κερασοῦντος (689-690)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 20. D. 27-33. Incomplete imprint not only because the blank was too small for the die. Some of the letters were effaced later.

Ed. Мушмов, *Печати*, № 24.

Parallels: Панченко, *Каталог*, № 403.

Obv. The emperor (Justinian II) standing frontally, beardless, wearing a crown and chlamys and holding a globus cruciger (r. hand) and a sceptre cross (l. hand). Portion of letter Γ', on r. = [(Ἰνδικτιών)] γ'. Circular inscription above head of the emperor on l.: +ΚΟC..... ΝΙΚ8

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..M | ΜΕΡΚΙΑ | ΡΙΘΑΠΟ | ..ΚΗΣΚ | Ρ.С. |

+ Κοσ[μ]ᾶ ἀπο ὑπάτων καὶ γε[ν]ικοῦ [κο]μμερκιαρίου ἀπο[θ]ήκης Κ[ε]ρ[α]σ[οῦ]ντος]

The dating and attribution of the toponym was a problem for publishers concerned with the reading of the text. B. Panchenko read the toponym as Ἀγκύρας and suggested that the seal could be generally dated to the VIIth century. N. Mushmov sought some likeness between the emperor presented and Constance II (641-668). G. Zacos (*Seals*, I, p. 147, n. 2), seems to have proposed the most acceptable dating and toponym considering the known seals of Kosmas and his mandates in various commerciarias, including Mesembria (see here no. 47).

41. Κιβεριώτων

This was the earliest maritime theme. Its name comes from the ancient city of Kibyrra. For the first time its strategos was reported in 732. This theme covered the Aegean littoral near to island of Cyprus. Its main city was Atalia. During certain periods the Mardaites settled there.

Bibliography: Скабаланович, *Виз. государство*, с. 208; *De Them.*, 149-152; Ahrwiler, *Le Mer*, p. 31, 81-83; Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 35; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOC*, 3, p. 151.

41.1 Νικηφόρος β' σπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κιβηριοτῶν (IXth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia. Submitted to the museum by the police. D. 24.5-28.5 mm. Incomplete imprint and badly preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ... || Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.... | .ΦΟΡΟ. | .ΠΑΘ'ΣC. | .ΤΗΓ'ΤΩ. | ΚΙΒΥΡ'

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει [τῷ σῶ] δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ [β'σ]παθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) σ[τρ(α)]τηγ(ῶ) τῷ[v]
Κιβυρ(ιοτῶν)

42. Κουτζιάγρων

A bishopric subordinate to the metropolitan of Euchaita. Its name appeared for the first time in the notitia no. 7 (901-902). Some time before that Euchaita was elevated to the rank of a metropolitanate by patriarch Photius as a sign of gratitude of the patriarch to his supporter Theodore Santabarenos who occupied the local seat. As emphasised by Darrouzes, the question of the genesis of the new bishoprics remains open (see Darrouzes, *Notitiae*, 77-78.51).

42.1 Στυλιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Κουτζιάγρων (early Xth century)

In a private collection. Unknown origin. D. 24-24 mm. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Michael represented as a soldier *en face*. Circular inscription along border of dots : +MIX

ΞΙ...ΤΩCΩΔ8ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+CTV | ΛΙΑΝΩΕ | ΠΙCΚΟΠ' | ΚΟΥΤΖΙ | ΑΓΡΟΥ

+Μιχ[αήλ τα]ξι[ζάρχα] τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Στυλιανῷ ἐπισκόπ(ῳ) Κουτζιάγρον

The discovery of the molybdo bull of the bishop of Κουτζιάγρων in Bulgaria raises a number of intriguing questions. It was affixed to the correspondence of Stylianos which means that it arrived here after the recognition of the Bulgarian autocephalous archbishopric. There is no doubt that the Bulgarian archbishop was a supporter of Photius probably like Stylianos.

43. Κυρικῶν

43.1 Λέων μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν Κυρικῶν (XIth century)

a. Museum of History, Pernik. Found in the stronghold near the present-day town of Pernik. D. 21-21 (19) 3 mm. A well centered copy although parts of the die are missing.

Ed. Юркува, Перник, II, 128-129; Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 1182.

No parallels known.

b. Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 14662. Found by a treasure-hunter with a metal detector in the stronghold near Dobri dol. D. 17-17 (13) 3 mm. Weak imprint, poorly preserved, broken in two parts and glued together by its finder.

Ed. Jordanov, Dobri dol, no. 13. No parallels known.

Two lead seals are struck with a different boulloterion or with a different pair of dies.

a) *Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+| ΛΕΩΝΜΙ | ΤΩΡΤΗC | CΧΟΛΗ | C

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΤΩΝ | ΚΥΡΥ | ΚΩΝ

Λέων μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν Κυρικῶν

b) *Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

ΛΕΩ. | ΜΑ. | ΤΩΡ | ΤΗC |

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

+| CΧΟΛΗC | Τ8ΚΥΡΙ | ΚΩΝ

Λέω[v] μα[ί]στωρ τῆς σχολῆς τοῦ Κυρικῶν

The text of this seal informs us about the existence of a hitherto unknown seminary for clerics. Initially, P. Lemerle (*Cinq etudes*, p. 245) assumed, with some caution, and later V. Laurent (*Corpus*, II, 662-662), with greater certainty, that this unknown seminary was probably connected with the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul in Constantinople.

Interesting is the question: with whom in the stronghold near Pernik and Dobri dol did Leon, a teacher in that ecclesiastical school, correspond?

44. Κωνσταντίας

The name of Constantia is mentioned for the first time in the "Chronographia" of Theophanes the Confessor who tells us that the fortress of Constantia was destroyed by Attila in 458 (see translation in ГИБИ, 3, с. 285; commentary in Гюзелев, В. Средновековната българска крепост Констанция.- ИНИМ, 3, 1981, с. 9, бел. 8, where it is specified that this happened in 441-442). This fact suggests that it was founded during an earlier period and it seems logical to connect its name with that of emperor Constantine I Great (307-337). Since the Vth-VIth century Constantia was a city in the Thrace province and later in the newly established theme bearing the same name (Аладжов, Д. Симеоновград в древността и средновековието. - Констанция, Хасково, 1985, 15-16).

It is not exactly known when a bishopric was set up in the city but according to the diocese lists (notitia no. 7) from 901-907; (notitiae 9-10) from the Xth-XIth century and (notitia no. 13) from the XIIth century, the bishop of Constantia was subordinate to the metropolitan of Philippoupolis in the Thrace diocese (Darrouzes, *Notitiae*, VI.592; IX.463; X.556; 13.600).

In 812 Constantia was conquered by the Bulgarians and the peace treaty of 815 arranged its legal entry into the Bulgarian state. During the Xth-XIth century it shared the fate of the other settlements in this part of the country. According to Idrisi, in 1153 Constantia was a large and densely populated city. Its name was mentioned many times in connection with the Third crusade of 1189-1190. Emperor Friedrich I Barbarosa and other distinguished participants in the crusade resided there. For the last time the name of Constantia appeared in 1202 when it was conquered and destroyed by Tsar Kaloyan (see Гюзелев, Констанция, 11-15).

The seal presented beneath is the only one connected with the church organization of the city and one of the few direct pieces of evidence which have survived until now.

44.1 Ν., πρόεδρος Κωνσταντίας (XIth-XIIth centuries)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 30442. Before that it was owned by D. Dimitrov from Pernik. It was found in the Asara area near the town of Simeonovgrad where the ancient Constantia is localized. D. 19.19 (15) 2.5 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ in her l. arm. Sigla: $\bar{M} \parallel \bar{\Theta}$.

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines:

ΚΩΝΤΑ | ΤΕΙΑCΠΡ. | ΕΔΡΟΝΠΑΡ | ΘΕΝΕΦΡ8 | ΡΕΙ

Κωνστα(ν)τείας πρ[ο]έδρον Παρθένε φρουρεῖ

Limited is the information which can be extracted from this essentially anonymous seal which affixed the correspondence of the bishop of Constantia. One may pose the question about the meaning of the title πρόεδρος Κωνσταντίας: is he a bishop or metropolitan? In most cases it refers to a bishop which would be normal for Constantia. It is included as a bishopric in the diocese notitiae until the XIIth century.

The seal can be generally dated to the late XIth or the early XIIth century. This is proven not only by the ligature C+T=Φ but by its entire external appearance and form.

The information of the seal is consonant with what is known about the church hierarchy in Constantia.

45. Λογγοβαρδίας

This theme was established after the conquest of Bari by the Byzantines in 876. This city was the main centre of the theme. Its strategos was mentioned for the first time in 911. It is quite natural that there was also a commerciarios. Λογγοβαρδίας kept its significance for this strategic region until 1071 when the Byzantine domination in Italy was eliminated.

Bibliography: Falkenhausen, *Süditalien*, 27-34, 74-78; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 75-76, 351-352.

45.1 Στέφανος Σερβλίας β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας (XIth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 30074. Found by Yanko Todorov from Shoumen near the village of Dobri dol, district of Plovdiv. D. 28-28 mm; field 27 mm; thickness 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. Some fragments are broken. The illegible imprint and unusual filling make the reading of the text difficult.

Ed. Jordanov, Dobri dol, no. 23. No direct parallels.

Obv. St. George standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand set on a shield resting on the ground and a sword on chest over back. Vertical inscription in two columns: -Γ-Ε-Ω-Ρ || Γ-Ι-Ο-Σ

Rev. Inscription of six line:

- + -| ΚΟΥΜΜΕΡ | ΚΙΑΡ'Α.ΓΓΙ|..ΡΔ'Ρ'Α'CΠΑ | ΘΑΡ'CΤΕΦΑ | ΟCΕΡΛΑ | ΑC

+Κουμμερκιάρ(ιος) Α[ο]γγι[β]αρδ(ίας) β'(πρωτο)σπαθάρ(ιος) Στέφα[ν]ος] ὁ Σερβλ(ι)ας

1. The Dancoisne collection contains an analogous lead seal:

Obv. St. George standing, as last.

Rev. +ΟΑ'CΠΑΘ' | CΤΕΦΑΝΟC | Κ8ΜΕΡΚ'ΑΡ | ΛΟΓΓΙΡΑΡΔ | CΕΡΛΗ | ΑC

+ 'Ο (πρωτο)σπαθάρ(ιος) Στέφανος κουμμερκ(ι)άρ(ιος) Λογγιβαρδ(ίας) (ὁ) Σερβλίας (see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 218, no. 3).

2. At the auction Münz Zentrum, 76, November 1993, a group of more than 115 seals was presented for sale which may have originated in Bulgaria. Among these is a seal struck in the same boulloterion as the preceding.

It is evident that this is another seal belonging to the same dignitary. Its word order, in contrast with the other traditional seals, appears to be unusual.

In the quoted publication of Schlumberger a seal which belonged to another commerciarios of Lombardy, a certain Theodore from the Xth century, is reported, too (see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 218, nos. 1-2).

Various questions arise in connection with this find in the stronghold near Dobri dol.

First, to whom did that kommerkiarios of Longobardias write in this area? With what rank and function? This is the first instance of seals having been discovered of this kommerkiarios within the territory of Bulgaria.

Who was Στέφανος Σερβλίας? This name is not known from the narrative sources.

The family of Σερβλίας is related to the noun *servus*, ethnonym σέρβοι or toponym Σερβίας. The following representatives of this family are known from various narrative sources:

1. Βασίλειος Σερβλίας, an iconographer and probable creator of the icon mentioned in connection with the person of Ἰωάννης Σερβλίας, no. 3.

2. Γεώργιος Σερβλίας πραιτωρ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας from the late XIth century according to his unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1468:

Obv. St. Nicholas standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. ..ΦΡΑ...|...ΠΡΑ.....|..ΡΑΚΗCΣ..|ΚΕΔΟΝΙΑCΓΕΩ|ΡΓΙΟΝΤΟΝCΕ|ΡΛΙΟΝ

Perhaps the same person was formerly κριτής καὶ κουράτωρ Ταρσοῦ καὶ Σελευκίας according to another unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1518, which is badly preserved.

Obv. St. Nicholas standing, as last.

Rev.|..ΚΡΙΤ'ΚΑ.|ΚΟΝΠΑΤ...|ΤΑΡC8SC..|ΛΕΝΚ'ΟCΕ |..ΡΛΙΑC

3. Θεόδωρος Σερβλίας, β' νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν οἰκειακῶν who affixed it to a document of the monastery on the island Patmos dating to 1088 (see *Patmos*, no. 49A.269).

4. Ἰωάννης Σερβλίας who corresponded with Theophylact of Ochrid in 1093-1094 (see *Theophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres*, no. 49, 117-118). The reason of sending this letter was probably the position of the last mentioned person. His seal was affixed to documents dated to 1109 in his capacity of νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ. The name of the same person is inscribed on an icon of St. Theodore and he was probably the owner of this icon (see *Markianos 524*, 172-173, no. 317). Another group of seals is related to the same person (see *Laurent, Bulles metriques*, no. 645). We recently had the possibility to survey two other groups of seals bearing this name as well:

The first group (an unpublished specimen from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1518) presents the owner as a ἐκ προσωποῦντι ἐφόρῳ:

Obv. + ΘΚΕ|ΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩ|CΩΔ8ΛΩ|ΙΩΑΝΝΗ

Rev. ...ΕΚ|ΠΡΟCΩΠ8Ν|ΤΙΕΦΟΡΩ|ΤΩCΕΡ|ΡΛΙΑ

- and the second group (an unpublished specimen from the collection of Fogg A. M., no. 698) shows him as a private person from the second half of the XIth century.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on l.

Rev. +ΘΚΕ|ΡΟΗΘΕΙ|ΙΩΑΝΝΗ|ΤΩCΕΡ|ΡΛΙΑ

It seems that the first group corresponds more to the position of Ἰωάννης Σερβλίας.

5. Λέων Σερβλίας held a position in the financial office. He was probably an anagrapheus during the 1050s (*Skyllitizes*, 476.52). In this capacity he was dispatched to the east in Iberia as an special proxy of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus. He imposed some new taxes on the local inhabitants there and therefore they were lost as allies of the empire (See *Литаврин, Кекавмен*, с. 153, 376, зам. 256). His activity is often confused with that of John (see *Dölger, BZ*, 37, 1937, S. 534).

6. Μαρία Σερβλίας reported by Theodore Balsamon (*PG*, 104, coll. 1188A).

7. Νικηφόρος Σερβλίας, a mystic, who corresponded with John Tzetzes (see *Tzetzes, Epistulae*, no. 18). The same person has been identified as the owner of a group of seals dating to the XIIth century when he was a judge (see *Laurent, Bulles metriques*, no. 255; *Idem, Orghidan*, no. 314). Another group of seals identifies him as a private person according to a specimen from Chersones (see *Соколова, Херсонес*, табл. VI, М-5573).

8. Νικόλαος Σερβλίας κριτής ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ τοῦ βήλου according to his metrical seal dating to the second half of the XIth century (see *Laurent, Corpus*, II, no. 842).

9. Πέτρος Σερβλίας μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κριτής τοῦ βήλου Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος according to his seal dated to the third quarter of the XIth century (see *Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS*, 2, no. 8.36). Another seal of the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 55.65.14-2680) presents him as μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κριτής τοῦ βήλου καὶ τοῦ Ὀψίκιου (see *Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS*, 3, no. 39.16).

10. Ν., Σερβλίας reported in the *Alexiade* only with his patronym as belonging to the circle of the philosopher John Italus (see *Alexiade*, II, 37.21). An attempt to identify this person as Ἰωάννης Σερβλίας has been made but this is mere guesswork (see *Skoulatos, Personages*, no. 183).

It is difficult to define any direct relationship between Στέφανος Σερβλήας who wrote his letters to an anonymous addressee in the medieval settlement near to the present village of Dobri dol, district of Plovdiv, and the aforementioned representatives of the Σερβλήας family. The members of this family occupied different positions but quite often they were related to the civil administration in the capital city. Probably some of them had formerly worked in the countryside, too. In such a case one should explain the receipt there of the correspondence of Στέφανος Σερβλήας β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας. It is difficult to assume that he wrote them there while discharging his duties.

46. Μακεδονίας

This theme was established in the period between 789-802. The earliest report about its strategos is from 813. Initially it was part of the Thrace theme as another barrier in front of Constantinople against the newly founded Bulgarian state. Μακεδονίας was situated on the territory of present-day Greek Thrace and Western Turkish Thrace and its main city was Adrianoupolis.

The name of this theme is mentioned in all tactics excluding the Escorial one which features the dukedom of Adrianoupolis instead. It is known that it existed at least until 962 and it was reestablished after 1006-1007 (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, p. 355).

The seals presented below belonged to the strategoi of Macedonia during the IXth century. They are found in the cities bordering on the Bulgarian state and confirm the measures undertaken by the empire for defending its territory.

Bibliography: **Lemerle**, *Philippes*, p. 122; **Pertusi**, *De tem.*, 162-166; **Коледаров**, *Македония*, 55-68; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 349, 355; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, 110-111.

46.1 N., β'σπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IXth century)

- Museum of History, Haskovo. Found near the village of Izvorovo, district of Haskovo, in the Kaleto area. D. 21-21 mm; field (?); thickness 4 mm. Incomplete imprint especially on the obverse.
- Museum of History, Yambol. Found in the stronghold near to the village of Melnitza, district of Elchovo. D. 22-23 mm; field (22 ?) mm; thickness 4.5 mm. Incomplete imprint, as above.
- In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, probably near to the latter. D. 21-23 mm. Incomplete imprint, as above. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of a cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters:

..- Ω||..-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- | ΩΡ'CΠ .. | SCTP .. | Γ'MAK .. | ONIA
 - | ΩΡ'CΠA .. | SCTRAT | Γ'MAKΕ .. | ONI.
 - | . . CΠAΘ | .CTRAT | . MAKEΔ | ON. .
- + Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) [τῷ σ]ῷ [δού]λῳ.....ω β'σπα[θ(αρίω)] (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) Μακεδονία(ς)

The lack of a homonym makes it impossible to conduct any inquiry in the narrative sources. It is surprising that the title of the owner of the seals is so low. The strategos of Macedonia in the tactic of Uspenski (842-843) is a πατρίκιος (**Oikonomides**, *Listes*, U 49.9). There was some extraordinary situation or it concerns some earlier seals when this title was of a high-rank.

46.2 Θεόκτιστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (mid. IXth century)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 27-29 mm. Incomplete imprint with missing letters. Very well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of a cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters:

..-CΩ||..-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΘΕΟ. | .HCTΩB'.. | .SCTRAT'M. | ΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) [τῷ σ]ῷ [δού]λῳ Θεο[κτ]ήστῳ β'[(πρωτο)σπα(θαρίω)] (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) Μ[α]κεδονία(ς)

The dating of the seal in accordance with the type of the letter B and the style of abbreviation is closer to the mid-IXth century than to its last quarter.

A person bearing this name is known from this time. He was protospatharios Theoktistos nicknamed Bryenios, who, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was forwarded to the Peloponnesos theme in the beginning of the reign of emperor Michael (842-865) against the revolting Slavs ahead of numerous troops "from Thrace, Macedonia and other western themes". In this case Theoktistos appeared as commander-of-chief similar to the domestikos of the schools who had been entrusted with the command of concrete military campaigns. The last mentioned activity was not implemented by Theoktistos (because Porphyrogenitus should not have missed it), so it could be assumed that he was a strategos of Macedonia. Perhaps he was put in charge of this military campaign because he was older and trustworthy in the eyes of the emperor. After its successful end, he imposed taxes on the Slavs as a strategos of Peloponnesos and forced them to respect the empire (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, 22.38 about his seals from this time).

46.3 N., πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IXth century)

In a private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 24-29.5 (28?) 4 mm. W. 18.35 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank was larger than the diameter of the die. A deep scar done by corrosion on the reverse.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of a cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: .Ω-.. || Δ8..

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | .ΠΑΤΡΙ | ..Α'CΠAΘ | CTRATH | ΜΑΚΕ | .ONI.
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) [τῷ σ]ῷ [δού]λῳ πατρι[k(ίω) β'] (πρωτο) σπα(θαρίω) [(καὶ)] στρατη(γῶ) Μακε[δ]ονί[α(ς)]

46.4 Λέων β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (IXth-Xth century)

Archaeological base, Develt, no. 90. Found during archaeological excavations in the commercia from its second period in sector Γ-III, sq. 77. D. 19-20 mm; field 19 mm; thickness 3 mm. Blank too small for die.

Incomplete imprint, perhaps due to weak pressing.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Девет*, № 56.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Between two borders of dots circular inscription:

..... ΩCΩΔ...

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΛΕΩΝ | Τ'Ρ'Α'CΠA | Θ'.SCTPA | Τ.Γ'Τ'MAK | ΔΩΝΙ'
[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σ]ῷ [δούλῳ] Λέωντ(ι) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(α)[ρ(ίω)] (καὶ) στρατ[η]γ(ῶ) τ(ῆς) Μακ[ε]δωνί(ας)

Several strategoi of Macedonia bearing this name and title are known from various narrative sources. Identification is pointless. Probably there was an administrative connection between the commercia of Develtos and the strategos of Macedonia.

46.5 Κωνσταντῖνος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth century)

In a private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-26 (26) 4 mm. W. 15.5 g. Incomplete imprint.

Badly preserved. Holed and torn at the hole bored.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. A monogram (Pl. I.6) containing the invocation Κύριε which is continued between the two dotted circles: ROHΘΕΙΤΩC....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+K..CT|ANT. A'CTΠ | AΘ'S.TPAT | HΓΩ.AKΕ | ...AC

+Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σ[ῷ] δούλ[ω] Κ[ων]σταντ[ίνω] [β'](πρωτο)σπαύ(αρίω) (καὶ) [σ]τρατηγ(ῶ)
[Μ]ακε[δονί]ας

46.6 Σωτήριχος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth century)

a. In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-26 mm. Incomplete imprint with missing letters. Very well preserved specimen.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

b. In a private collection (V. Pantelev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-24 mm. W. 11.30 g. Three quarters of a copy with a badly preserved surface.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Unfortunately, I do not have an illustration of the first specimen in order to find out whether they belong to an identical die. The first two lines evidently coincide.

Obv. Portion of a cruciform invocative monogram. In the quarters:

ΤΩ-ΘΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) +CΩT . | PIXΩΠ. | TP'SCT. | MAKΕ.. | ..AC

b) +CΩ.H | PIXΩΠ. .. | C...ΚΕ.. | N..

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ[ω] Σωτ(η)ρίχ[ω] π[α]τρ(ικί[ω]) (καὶ) στ[ρ]ατηγ(ῶ)

Μακε[δονί]ας

46.7 Γουδέλιος ? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth-XIth centuries)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 11. Found during archaeological excavations in the Selishte Locality near Preslav, so called Grahzdanski complex, sq. G², depth 0.30 m, on May 5th, 1974. D. 19-24 mm; field about 22.5 mm; thickness 2 mm. Incomplete imprint. Struck off-center probably because of slackened bulloterion.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Fragment of a patriarchal cross with fleurons rising from base. Circular inscription: along border of dots: ΔΟΥΛ'.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.ΓΟΝ. | .ΛΙΟCR'. | CΠAΘ'SCT | .ATIG'MA | .ΕΔΟΝ. | ..

[+]Γου[δέ]λιος β'[(πρωτο)]σπαύ(αρίος) (καὶ) στ[ρ]ατηγ(ός) Μα[κ]εδον[ί]ας

The information is insufficient for identifying the person from the narrative sources but nevertheless some suggestions could be done. Skylitzes reported that in 1028 Romanos Kourkouas, Bogdan, Glavas and Goudelios who were accused of conspiracy were blinded (Γουδέλιος, see *Skylitzes*, 372.89). They had been reported to be together with Bulgarian Prince Prusian and this was the reason to accept that they were Bulgarian boyars (see translation in *ГИБИ*, 6, c. 298). But the name Γουδέλιος is too unusual to be Bulgarian. Skylitzes also wrote about a group of generals who took part in an expedition against the Saracens in 1032 and among them were Nikephoros Karantinos, George Maniakes and ὁ Γουδελίου τοῦ Μανιάκη υἱός (*Skylitzes*, 387.87). Although such an assumption seems far-fetched, it is known that the Glavas family was connected with Adrianoupolis and some of its representatives escaped to Bulgaria. Perhaps this Goudelios was formerly a strategos of Macedonia.

46.8 Θεοφύλακτος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth-XIth century)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, probably Preslav. D. 25-30 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡ'. | ΘΕΟΦ. | ΛΑΚΤΟΠ. | .SCTPA. | .ΓΩ.ΩΝ | MAK

+Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θ[η] (ει) Θεοφ[υ]λάκτο π[α]τρ(ικί[ω]) (καὶ) στρα[τη]γ[ῶ] Μ[α]κεδον[ί]ας

The coincidence of the names and the continuity of the titles and positions suggest that the owner of the seals was perhaps the same above mentioned Theophilaktos who was later appointed as duke of Adrianoupolis (see here no. 3.3).

46.9 Ἰσαάκιος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17094. D. 23-25 (22) 2 mm. W. 9.10 g. Incomplete imprint, the peripheral letters are missing. The surface is well preserved.

Ed. *Йорданов, Преслав, № 279.*

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons rising from base. Circular inscription along border of dots:.....ΩCΩΔ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+HCA. | PATP.. | SCTPA. | .Γ'MAK. | ΔΟ.

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δ(ούλ[ω]) Ἰσα[κ(ίω)] πατρ[ικ(ίω)] (καὶ) στρα[τηγ(ῶ)]

Μακ[ε]δο[ν(ί]ας)

The person of Isaac could be connected with several groups of seals which form the following cursus honorum:

a) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρουγουβιτείας (see here no. 24.5)

b) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (see here no. 35.9)

c) πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας

d) ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης τοῦ σταύλου (see *Йорданов, Преслав, № 192.*)

46.10 Ῥωμανὸς πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth century)

Museum of History, Silistra, not inventoried. Found during archaeological excavations in the same city in 1998. D. 29-29 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. St. Theodore ? standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand on shield resting on the ground. Inscription on l. and on r., almost effaced: ... || Γ-Ε ...

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΡΩΜΑ | ΝΩΠΑΤΡ | ΙΚΙΩSC | T P'TΓ'M | .ΚΕΔ

+Ῥωμανῶ πατρικί[ω] (καὶ) στρα[τη]γ[ῶ] Μ[α]κεδον[ί]ας

46.11 Ῥωμανὸς ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth century)

a. In a private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: Preslav. D. 25-26 (24) 2.5 mm. Wonderfully preserved although incomplete imprint.

b. In a private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: Preslav. D. 24.5-24.5 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint.

c. In a private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: Preslav. D. 23-25 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Badly preserved.

d. In a private collection (V. Pantelev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 28-29 mm. Incomplete imprint. Badly preserved. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. St. Theodore standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand on a shield resting on the ground. Inscription in two columns: O-A-Γ-i || Θ-Ε-O-Δ-.. Traces of the invocation around the image: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙ-ΤΩCΩ....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) | . . ΩΜ. | ..CANΘV | . TΠATPIK'S | CTPATIG'M | AKEDON |

b) | . ΡΩΜ . | ... ANΘV | . . . ATPIK' . | . . . ATIG'M | . ΚΕΔΟΝ |

c) | | ΝΘV | . . ΠΑΤΡΙΚ' . | . . ΤΡΑΤΙΓ'M | . . ΕΔΟΝ |

d) | . . ΩΜΑ | . . . ANΘV | . . ΠΑΤΡΙΚ'S | CTPATIG'M | . ΚΕΔΟΝ |

[+]Ρ]ωμα[νός] ἀνθύ[π]α[τ]ρ(ος) πατρικ(ιος) (καὶ) στρατ[η]γ(ός) Μ[α]κεδον[ί]ας

One can suggest that the owner of this seal and the person above are identical. He already had the rank of an anthypatos in the second group.

46.12 N., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (Xth-XIth centuries)

In a private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-26 mm. Incomplete imprint. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-N I || K-O-A' Circular inscription along border of dots: +ΑΓ'ΝΙΚ'ΡΟΗ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.ΑΛ.. | ICR'A'CΠA | Θ'SCTPATH | .ΜΑΚΕΔΩ | .HAC
+ Ἀγ(ι)ε Νικ(ό)λαε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ .αλ..ις β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ῷ)
Μακεδωνίᾳς

46.13 Δοβρυνος or Δοβρυλος N., στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας (XIth century)

Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 14616. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-25 (20?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. The relief of the letters is half erased which makes them unclear and makes the reading of the text entirely problematic. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of an unidentified saintly bishop with a nimbus and beard. On the r. can be seen the ending of his name: I-Ω. Traces, probably of the invocative inscription, are present around the image.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΔΟΡΡV. | CTPATI. | .ΑΚΕΔ... | . Α Δ Ρ Α . .
Δοβρυν [...] στρατηγ(ῷ) Μ]ακεδ[ον(ί)ας] τῷ Ἀδρα ...

The main problem of this seal is its deciphering. One cannot be sure about the first or the last line. The homonym was written in the first line and it is Δοβρυνος or Δοβρυλος, or some third variant but its Slavonic provenance is certain. In the last line another toponym is written but when the first one, i.e. Macedonia, is taken into account, the second one should be Adrianoupolis mistakenly written. The other possibility is that the patronym of the seal owner has been written there. The possibilities for filling in the space are numerous. For information's sake I can point out that in the XIth century, which is the general dating of the seal, there was someone called Δοβρωνᾶς ἄρχων καὶ τοπάρχης τῆς Δαλματίας (see Кекавмен, 300.24-25; 302.10).

**46.14 Ἰωάννης β' σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μακεδονίας
(last quarter of the IXth century)**

Archaeological base, Devlet, no. 156. Found during archaeological excavations of the commercia from its second period, sector Γ-III, sq. 41, depth 0.75 m. D. 11-21 mm; field 20? mm; thickness 2 mm. Originally good imprint but some portions of it are out of the blank. At the present moment only half of it is preserved. Broken along the line of the channel.

Ed. Йорданов, Девлет, № 57.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Between two borders of dots, fragment of invocation: +ΘΚΕ.....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...NN |Θ'ΚΑ |ΑΤ'ΣΕ | ...ΟCΟΠΟ | ..ΑΚΕΔ'
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάνν[η] β' σπαθ(αρο)κα[νδιδ]άτ(ω) (καὶ) ἐκ
προσώπου Μ]ακεδ(ονί)ας

The deciphering of the homonym seems unproblematic although we have only half of it. The identification of the owner of the seal is impossible using the narrative sources. The title of John is lower than the one of the titular (see above no. 46.1-5). It can be assumed that he was a real ἐκ προσώπου epi to the strategos of the Macedonia theme who did not have the chance to fulfill his functions or he was an acting strategos of Macedonia.

46.15 Θεόφιλος νοτάριος Μακεδονίας (mid. IXth century)

Museum of History, Kurdzali. Discovered during excavations in the Perperek fortress. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3). In the quarters: .Ω-CΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΘΕΟΦΙ | ΛΩ.NO. | ΑΡ'ΜΑΚ. | ΔΟΝΗΑ
Θεοτόκε βοήθει [τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοφίλῳ [β']νο[τ]αρ(ίῳ) Μακ[ε]δονίᾳς

46A. Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως

**46A.16 Στέφανος πατρίκιος, πραιπόσιτος, καὶ πραιτωρ Μακεδονίας καὶ
Ἀδριανουπόλεως (third quarter of the XIth century)**

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen. Found during archaeological excavations in the monastery of Patleyna near Preslav in the summer of 1990. D. 15-20 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. A fragment, about a quarter. Originally good imprint and the surface is well-preserved as well.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Mordtmann, Εὐρώπης, σ. 86. Struck with the same boulloterion. This specimen makes possible the deciphering of the seal from Preslav.

Obv. Inscription of six lines:

.... | ΤΩC... | ΤΩC... | .ΤΕΦ... | ΠΡΙΠ... | ΠΩC...

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

.... | | ...ΚΕΔΟ | ...SΑΔΡΙ | ...ΠΟΛΕ | -.C-
[+K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Σ]τεφ[άνω] π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) π(ραι)τωρ[ί] βέσση (καὶ)
πραιτωρ Μ]ακεδ[ονί]ας (καὶ) Ἀδρι[ανου]πόλε[ω]ς

The seal generally dates to the third quarter of the XIth century according to the inscribed titles and position. If it was really found in the monastery of Patleyna (we have some grounds to doubt this claim), then one may ask who was the person or which was the institution exchanging letters with the addressee in question.

47. Μεσημβρίας

This city was situated on the picturesque peninsula of the Bulgarian Black Sea shore near the present city of Nessebur. It was an important administrative, ecclesiastical and cultural centre during the Middle Ages.

Its significance increased especially after the establishment of Bulgarian state in 681. It became an outpost of Byzantium which helped realize its policy of expansion against Bulgaria.

The city of Μεσημβρίας was captured for the first time by the Bulgarians in 812. Byzantine domination was restored during the reign of emperor Basil I (867-886). But it was finally annexed to the Bulgarian state as a result of the wars of Bulgarian Tzar Symeon I (893-927). There is no clear evidence when this exactly happened. It is known that the domestikos Leo fled to Messembria after the dismal defeat near Achelo in 917. Hence, the city was still under Byzantine domination. It shared the destiny of the other Eastern Bulgarian centers in 971 but nothing is known about its administrative structure until the mid-XIth century. The city was beyond the line of military operations and thus it failed to attract the interest of the chroniclers.

During the second half of the XIth century the situation changed. As a result of mass invasions of the new nomadic tribes, the Byzantine domination in the present Northern and in some regions of southern Bulgaria was overthrown. The significance of the Bulgarian Black Sea cities and strongholds again increased. The situation from the VIIth-IXth centuries recurred when the city was a centre of civil and military administration.

Bibliography: M. Constantinides, 'Η Μεσημβρία τοῦ Εὐξείνου, I, Athenes, 1945; Гюзелев, Анхиало-Несебър. - БСГК, I, 325-355; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, I, p. 173; Йорданов, Преслав, p. 139.

* * *

The military and civil institutions of the city are presented mostly by sphragistic material. We hereby document all seals bearing the toponym Μεσημβρίας in view of its significance for the Bulgarian state.

During various periods the following dignitaries resided in the city:

681-812:

a) ἄρχων Μεσημβρίας

1. Ἀδριανὸς β'στράτωρ καὶ ἄρχων Μεσημβρίας (VIIIth century). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (**Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 1981A).

2. Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπάτος, β'σπαθᾶριος καὶ ἄρχων Μεσημβρίας (VIIIth century). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (**Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 1694; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.1).

3. Θεόδωρος ὑπάτος καὶ ἄρχων Μεσημβρίας (VIIIth century). Represented by two specimens found in Constantinople (see **Ebersolt**, Constantinople, p. 223, no. 300; **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 2432).

4. Ν., β'σπαθᾶριος καὶ ἄρχων Μεσημβρίας (VIIIth century). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (**Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 2368; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.3).

5. Ν., β' κανδιᾶτος καὶ ἄρχων Μεσημβρίας (VIIIth-IXth centuries). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (**Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 2577; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.2).

b) κομμερκιᾶριος Μεσημβρίας

This was the first and, during certain periods, the only Byzantine commerciaría which served Bulgarian-Byzantine relations. Therefore we would like to comment briefly on the establishment of this commerciaría and its subdivision in Messembria (we have used the monograph of **Bibicou-Antoniadis, H. Recherches sur les douanes a Byzance**, Paris, 1963, and the review of **Oikonomides, Kommerkiarioi**, 33-53).

Seals of the commerciaría of Messembria:

681-728-729: γενικὸς κομμερκιᾶριος ἀποθήκης Μεσημβρίας :

1. Κοσμάς ἀπο ὑπάτων καὶ γενικὸς κομμερκιᾶριος ἀποθήκης Μεσημβρίας (690-691). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Mordtmann**, Grece, p. 292, no. 4; **Zacos, Seals**, I, p. 182, pl. 30, n. 1).

2. Ἀποθήκης τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμερκίων τῆς Μεσημβρίας (695-696). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Regling**, Bleisiegel, III, p. 96; **Zacos, Seals**, I, p. 182, pl. 30, n. 2).

3. Θεο.....καὶ γενικὸς κομμερκιᾶριος ἀποθήκης Μεσημβρίας (698-699)/(713-14). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 200a; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.9).

4. Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ γενικὸς κομμερκιᾶριος ἀποθήκης Μεσημβρίας (700 and 702). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Лихачев, Моливдовулы**, табл. LXXIII.7; **Zacos, Seals**, I, p. 155, pl. 10, n.2).

5. Σύνετος καὶ Νικήτας ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ γενικὸς κομμερκιᾶριος ἀποθήκης Μεσημβρίας (713-714). Represented by four specimens struck by different die or bulloterion (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 217 a-c; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.10 a-c).

6. Θωμᾶς πατρίκιος γενικὸς λογοθέτης καὶ κομμερκιᾶριος ἀποθήκης Μεσημβρίας (722-723). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 232a; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.11).

730-812: τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας:

7. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (731-732). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 244; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.5).

8. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (732-733): Represented by a single one only specimen found in Constantinople (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 247; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.6).

9. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (735-736). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Лихачев, Моливдовулы**, табл. LXXV.11).

10. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (736-737). Represented by two specimens found in Constantinople that are preserved in the Hermitage M-7297 (**Лихачев, Моливдовулы**, табл. LXXV.1) and DO. 55. 1. 4398 (**Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 247; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no.77.6).

11. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (736/737 or 738/739). Represented by a single specimen found in Sicilia (see **Kislinger, E.- Seibt, W. Sigilli byzantini di Sicilia, Archivio storico Messinese**, 75, Messina, 1998, 13-14).

12. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (747-748). Represented by four specimens found in Constantinople which are preserved in: Fogg A. M. 1739; DO 47.2.107, 47.2.108 and 47.2.193 (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 256 a-c; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, no. 77.8 a-d).

13. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (741-750). Represented by six specimens found in Constantinople. They are struck with a different bulloterion or die and preserved in different collections: Hermitage M-7970, 7991 (see **Лихачев, Моливдовулы**, табл. LXXV, 3,6); G. Zacos (see **Zacos, Seals**, I, no. 259 a,d); DO 47.2.109 and DO 55.1.4400 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, I, nos. 71.17-18) .

14. τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας (751-775). Represented by a single specimen found in Constantinople (see **Ebersolt**, Constantinople, no. 334; **Zacos, Seals**, I, 182-183, pl. 30).

Thus a commerciaría was established in Messembria right after the setting up of the Bulgarian state. Its earliest known seals are dated to 690-691. The further development of this commerciaría is also known from its seals. Conforming to the general rules of the Empire, they determined the place of the commerciaría as one of the most important centres of Byzantium in this region.

On the 4th of November, 812 the Bulgarians seized Messembria and in 815-816 a peace treaty was signed. This treaty fixed the border line between Bulgaria and Byzantium near Develtos and in this way Messembria remained within the Bulgarian borders. The commerciaría was moved to Develtos in order to facilitate the contacts between the two countries. This choice was successful because Develtos was connected with the empire by sea and land and it was situated on the main land road between the Bulgarian capital and Constantinople. Therefore, the last seals of the commerciaría are from 751-775. We do not have any information from later seals and the reasons for this were probably connected with the relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium.

For too long (at least until 832-833) the commerciaría kept a seal which had fallen into disuse bearing an impersonal inscription: + τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμερκίων. It was probably aimed to emphasize the continuity between τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Δεβελτοῦ and τὰ βασιλικά κομμέρκια Μεσημβρίας.

c) κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (864 to 913-917)

The seals presented below are the only documentary sources testifying to the existence of this institution in the city.

The klesourarches was administrative and military governor of a mountain province, a smaller theme consisting of mountain chains and mostly of gorges which were fortified to beat back the enemy. He was an officer subordinate the strategos of the respective neighbourly theme but he was appointed directly by the emperor and was subordinate directly to him. The klesourarches also enjoyed administrative rights in his region. Quite often the klesourarches developed into themes (see **Ahrweiler, Recherches**, 81-82; **Oikonomides, Listes**, p. 342).

Seals which belonged to the klesourarches of Messembria:

47.1 Ἀλέξιος β'σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (Xth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22131. D. 20-26 (20?) 3 mm. W. 7.50 g. The imprint is not complete and is broken in two with a fragment missing.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 280. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Along border of dots circular inscription:

+ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩ...ΟΝΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΑΛΕΞ.. | Ρ'.ΠΑΘ'Κ. | ΝΔ'ΣΚΛΙC8 | ΡΑΡ.ΜΕCΗ | Μ..ΙΑC

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ [σῶ δ]ούλῳ Ἀλεξ[ίῳ] β'[σ]παθ(αρο)κ[α]νδ(ιδάτῳ) (καὶ)

κλεισουράρχ[η] Μεσημ[βρ]ίας

47.2 Βασίλειος ? β'σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (IXth-Xth centuries)

In a private collection (E. Kosev from Shoumen; offered for purchase by the Museum of History, Shoumen).

Find-spot: uncertain, probably Preslav. D. 15-23 mm. Half of an originally good imprint.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. Between two borders of dots, inscription:

..... ΩΩΔΟΥΛ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...CI. | ...CΠA | ...OKANΔ | ...IC8PX | ..CEMP |
[+K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τ]ῷ σῷ δούλ[ω Βα]σι[λείω β']σπα[θα]ροκανδ(ιδάτω) [(καὶ)
κλι]σουρ(άρχη [Με]σεμ(β)ρ(ίας)

This specimen stands close to the following one but it is impossible to be certain that they refer to the same person.

47.3 Γεώργιος β'σπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (IXth-Xth centuries)

Archaeological base, Debelt, no. 148. Found during geodetic works in the commercia, sector D-II, sq. 18/18; 23/28 or 33/38. D. 23-25 (20) 3 mm. W. 8.75 g. Very good imprint, well preserved.

Ed. Йорданов, Девелт, № 58.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription: + ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙΤΩΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΓΕΩΡΓ | ΙΩΡ'CΠAΘ' | Κ'ΚΛΗCΟΥΡ | ΗΑΡΧ.ΜΕC | ΕΜΡΡ.
+K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Γεωργίω β'σπαθ(αρίω) κ(αὶ) κλησουρηάρχ(η)
Μεσεμβρ(ίας)

47.4 Παγκράτιος β'πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρείας καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας (Xth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 664. Found in the area of the southern Gate of the inner city of Preslav. D. 20-20.5 (18) 2.2 mm. W. 5.50 g. Well preserved but incomplete imprint. The end letters are missing.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 281.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with decoration stars in each upper quarter; fleurons rising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription:ΗΘΕΙΤΩΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΠΑΚΡ | ΑΤ'Ρ'Α'CΠAΘ | .ΠΙΤ'ΜΕΓ'Ε. | .Ρ'SKΛΗ.. | .ΙΑΡΧΜ.. | ..ΡΡΙΑ.
[+K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Πακρατ(ίω) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) [ἐ]πὶ τ(ῆς)
μεγ(άλῃς) ἐ[τε]ρ(είας) (καὶ) κλει[σουρ]ιάρχ(η) Μ[ε]σεμ[βρ]ία[ς]

When we published the seals of the strategos of Preslav, we assumed a priori that these two specimens belonged to Alexios and Pankratios, klesourarches of Mesembria and dated to the time after 971 because they are found in Preslav. This was also confirmed by other evidence of the concrete historical milieu.

The discovery of a seal which belonged to Γεώργιος β'σπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας in the closed archaeological complex dating to 913-917 at the latest raises a question in the present publication: when exactly was the kleisoura of Mesembria founded?

There are three possibilities: it existed during the period between 864 and 913-917; it was reestablished after 971 or shortly before this time; and the kleisoura of Mesembria existed only during the XIth century.

A definite answer could be provided only by an exact dating of the seals which belonged to the kleisourarches of Mesembria but unfortunately this is impossible. Nevertheless we can approach the problem concretely:

The seal of Βασίλειος? or 'Αλέξιος? β'σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας dates to the last quarter of the IXth century according to its iconographical subject. The seal of Γεώργιος β'σπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας found in the closed archaeological complex dates to 913-917 at the latest. Its iconographical subject and paleography point to the late IXth century or the early Xth century as well. The evidence is not sufficient to exclude the dating of

the other two seals (of 'Αλέξιος β'σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας and Παγκράτιος β'πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρείας καὶ κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας) to the time before 971 and, more exactly, to the first decades of the Xth century.

A conclusion based on the above written sources could be made that the kleisoura of Mesembria existed during the period between 864-913 and 917. The discovery of two specimens which belonged to the kleisourarches of Mesembria in the Bulgarian capital city of Preslav could be explained by the role of Mesembria as a negotiator in the settling of border disputes between the two countries.

As the above-mentioned information reveals, the seals presented here illustrate the increasing role of this administrative and military unit considering the rank of the titularies. The last mentioned titulary had the highest position and it is possible that he executed the effective office of ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρείας, i.e. the guards or part of them were forwarded to Mesembria in connection with some concrete military operation and its commander was entrusted with the management of the klesourarchea of Mesembria. Such moments were undoubtedly possible considering the Bulgarian-Byzantine war in 917 and the defeat near Anchialos.

d) ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Μεσημβρίας (971-1092):

In this case the seals presented below are the only evidence for the existence of such a unit in Mesembria.

Who held the title of ἐκ προσώπου? There are two possible answers: the emperor himself or the strategos of the neighbouring theme, most probably Thrace.

In the first case Mesembria could be considered to be a theme of lower rank than others and its titulary was ἐκ προσώπου directly responsible to the emperor.

In the second case ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Μεσημβρίας was probably a proxy of the strategos or the judge of the Thrace theme in the city of Mesembria and its vicinity.

Seals of ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Μεσημβρίας:

1. 'Αντρόνικος διοικητής καὶ ἐκ προσώπου 'Αρκαδιουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας (see no. 10.3).

2. Θεόδωρος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσημβρίας (XIth c.).

Represented by a single specimen in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 1891 (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, 1, no. 77.4).

3. 'Ιωάννης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος, β'νοτάριος τοῦ εἰδικου λόγου καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσημβρίας (XIth c.).

Represented by a single specimen of the Henri Seyrig collection (see Seyrig, no. 185).

4. Κυριακός σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσημβρίας (XIth c.).

Represented by a single specimen (see Auction Münz Zentrum, 98, 5-7.05.1998, no. 648).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding the Child Christ in l. arm.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

ΘΚ ΕΡ'Θ'ΚΝΡΙΑΚ. | CΠAΘ'ΚΔΔ | ..IT'MAT | CEA'CΩΠ'MECH | MRPI |

5. Μεθόδιος Σολομών πρωτοσπαθάριος, β'νοτάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσημβρίας.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΜΕΘΟΔ | Α'CΠAΘ'Ρ'Ν.. | AP'CEKΠP | CΩΠ'MECIM | RPIACTΩ | CΩΛΟΜ'
Μεθοδ(ίω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) β'ν[οτ]αρ(ίω) (καὶ) ἐκ πρ(ο)σώπ(ου) Μεσημβρίας τῷ
Σωλομ(ώντι)

Presented by a single specimen in the MK Wien collection, no. 53. Unpublished, but its evidence has been used several times (see Seibt, Bleisiegel, S. 299; Seyrig, p. 133), and the homonym has been wrongly read as 'Ιμέριος. Therefore we hereby document it.

The above presented seals of ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Μεσημβρίας and mostly no. 1 corroborate the statement that at a certain point the judge or the strategos of the Thrace theme dispatched his proxy to the main cities of the theme Arkadioupolis and Mesembria. Later the combination of his duties in these two cities proved hard and therefore the next ἐκ προσώπου were authorized only for Mesembria. The titles and especially the offices of the titularies confirm the fiscal and administrative functions of these ἐκ προσώπου instead of the military ones.

ε) κατεπάνω Μεσημβρίας

It is difficult to define exactly when Messembria had been put ahead of a catepanate because in this case the seals are again the only available sources.

According to their and supplementary information known about the city and its vicinity, the situation is as follows:

The strategic role of the city and its direct connection by sea with Constantinople were generally restored during the third quarter of the XIth century. Then the navy which defended the Black Sea shore and the debouchment of the Danube River was transferred there. This fact suggested that initially Messembria was annexed to the former catepanate of Adrianoupolis (see here no. 3.9). Later, during the 1060s-1070s, when Adrianoupolis was threatened, Messembria developed into an independent catepanate. At this time the navy resided there and the city had the opportunity to maintain permanent contacts with the other regions of the empire.

47.5 Βλαδτζερτης / Βαλατζέρτης μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω Μεσημβρίας (60s-70s of the XIth century)

Museum of History, Sliven, no. 216. Found during excavations of the stronghold near the village of Zlati voivoda, district of Sliven, on the embankment of the citadel on August 20th, 1993; sq. 69/3; depth 0. 20 m. D. 27-27 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 4 mm. Very well imprinted and excellently preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 1059. Struck with the same die.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩΡΛΑΔ | TZEP | H -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΜΑΓΙC | ΤΡΩCΚΑ | ΤΕΠΑΝΩ | ΜΕCΗΜΡΠΙ | ΑC

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Βλαδτζέρτη/ Βαλατζέρτη μαγίστρῳ (καὶ) κατεπάνω Μεσημβρίας

In the publication quoted above the Slavonic origin of the name Βλαδτζερτης is asserted.

The separation of Messembria as an independent unit in the context of the administrative changes related to it can be dated to the 1060s-1070s. The territorial scope of this catepanate is unknown but surely it did not cover only the territory of this city.

The discovery of this specimen in the stronghold near the village of Zlati voyvoda raises questions: Whom did the katepano of Messembria write letters to? What was the reason for that?

It is not very likely that the stronghold and its garrison were directly subject to the catepanos of Messembria. More probably, they were related to the catepanate of Adrianoupolis but, as it was stressed above, during certain periods these two military-administrative units were bound together. Thus, there was always a necessity for coordination and mutual operations between the catepanos of Messembria and the local military or administrative governor.

It has to be remembered that this was the time of mass invasions of the Guzes and of an unsuccessful attempt of the magistroi Basil Apokapes and Nikephorus Botaniates to stop their entering into the country. Probably this was the reason for fortifying the next defense line of the Empire situated on the Balkan range and sub-Balkan range.

The appointment of a katepano who was not Byzantine but close by birth to the invaders was probably motivated by the mentioned reasons too.

Who was this katepano of Messembria?

The reading of the homonym proposed by Zacos could be correct. Then the name Βαλτζερτης could be related to the Slavonic name Vladchert, i.e. a person who prevails over the sinister forces. Although we have to emphasize that the last letter of the third line is uncertain and could be Δ but Α as well and the name could be Βαλατζερτης.

Thus some other possibilities for analysis are open. John Skylitzes mentioned two Pecheneg leaders named Βαλτζάρ, father and son of the patrikios Kegen, who came over to the side of the Empire (**Skylitzes**, 455.42; 465.43). Concerning his son Βαλτζάρ, we are of the opinion that after the attempt on the life of his father in 1050, he kept his office in the Empire and was nominated with the corresponding title. Probably this title was initially equal to that of his

father, i.e. patrikios, and later on, about the 1060s he was promoted to the rank of magistros. It is possible that this person was appointed as katepano of Messembria during the 1060s-1070s because he was by birth related to the nomadic tribes and he knew their tactics and strategy.

Another possibility is suggested by the text of an inscription found near to the village of Urumcik in Turkey where the ancient city of Traianoupolis was located from 1069 (**Asdracha**, **C.**, **Ch. Bakirtzis**, *Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace (VIIIe-XVe siecles)*. - *Archeologiko dellio*, 35, 1980, Athenes, 1986, p. 257, no. 15).

Naturally, the cases mentioned above are just opportunities for analysis. In any case, this Byzantine general being a head of a strategically important port of the empire was connected with the nomadic invaders and this was a tradition of the empire in its campaigns against similar invasions.

η) ἀναγραφεὺς Μεσημβρίας

47.6 Ν., σπαθαροκανδιδάτος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτριγκλίνου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Μεσημβρίας ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ βασιλέως (XIth century).

In a private collection (Ivan Yotov from Yambol). Find-spot: the village of Melnitza, district of Elhovo. D. 28-29 mm.

Weakly imprinted, cracked and holed in the centre due to corrosion. All this makes its text difficult to read.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitza, no. 56. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding medallion of Christ before her.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

..... | .Ρ'ΔΔ'ΕΠΙ. | .ΓΚΛ'ΑΝ. | ΓΡΑΦ.. ΕCΗ | ..ΡΙΑ'Ο | .ΝΘCΤ. | RACI

[.....σπαθα]ρ(οκαν)δ(ι)δ(ἄτος) ἐπὶ [τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσοτρι)]γκλ(ίνου) (καὶ) ἀν[α]γραφ[ε](ὺς) Μ[εσημ]β[ρ]ί[α]ς ὁ [ἀ]νθ(ροπος) τ[οῦ] βασι(λέως)

θ) ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας

Messembria is an old Christian centre. In the beginning it was a bishopric subordinate to the metropolitan of Adrianoupolis. It was an autocephalous archbishopric from 640 and was included in all notitiae until the time of Alexius I Komnenos. The metropolitan of Messembria attended a synodal session in 1140 which gives us reasons to suggest that the chair was elevated earlier to this rank (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 666; **Asdracha**, Thrace, 243-244).

The names of the following bishops of the city from the VIIth-XIIth century are known (see the lists in **Σταμουλης**, *Θρακικά*, 137-138; **Asdracha**, Thrace, 290-292):

1. Πέτρος - attended the VIth ecumenical council in 680;
2. Μάμαλος or Μάρκελος - mentioned in 692;
3. Λέων - participated in synodal sessions in 783, 787 и 789;
4. Δαυίδ - mentioned as bishop in 850 (the same person has a seal where he is called archbishop, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 857);
5. Τιμόθεος - participated in the church council in 879;
6. Κωνσταντῖνος - participated in synodal sessions in 1030;
7. Γρηγόριος - participated in a session which renounced the papal anathema in 1054;
8. Ἰλλαρίων - his name was mentioned in a session of the Synod in 1092;
9. Λουκάς - it is suggested that he was the first metropolitan of the city who was promoted in the first quarter of the XIIth century;
10. Ἰωάννης - mentioned in an act of the emperor in 1147;
11. Θεόδωρος - participated in a synodal session in May 1157;
12. Βασίλειος - participated in a synodal session in 1170, 1171 и 1173.

47.7 Ἰλλαρίων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας (XIth century)

His name is inscribed on five seals imprinted with the same boulloterion which originate from the strategeia of Preslav. The last one is unpublished and is privately owned.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 390-393.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3). In the quarter: TΩ-CΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΙΑΑΡΙ | ΩΝΑΡΧ | ΕΠΙΣΚΠ | ΜΕΧΗΡ | ΡΙΑ
+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰλλαρίων ἀρχιεπισκ(ό)π(ω) Μεση(μ)βρίας

The name of Hilarion, Archbishop of Messembria, was mentioned in a speech of Nicetas of Ancyra delivered during a session of the Synod in 1092 when the right of the prelates to resign was discussed. The name of this archbishop was quoted as a negative example of a prelate who delivered his resignation after leaving his post (see Darrozes, J. Documents inédits d'Ecclesiologie byzantine, - *Archives de l'Orient chrétien*, no. 10, Paris, 1966, I.18-21, 9-11). Therefore, Hilarion was archbishop of Messembria before 1092.

As regards the identification of this prelate with the owner of the seals discussed, W. Seibt expresses his reservations (BZ, 89, S. 137) and suggests dating them to the Xth-XIth century.

47.8 Μιχαήλ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας (second half of the XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Pomorie. Originates from the same city. D. 18-21 (over 20) 3 mm. Good imprint but the periphery of the molybdenum seems to have been cut or the blank was formed in advance but it is evident that the entire dies did not cover it. Reading the text is most difficult in the third line. The name or the beginning of the name of the titular and his office should be written there. The suggestion which I made: I = [M]ιχ(αήλ) seems acceptable.

Ed. Йорданов, Ахнало, № 17. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩC'ΩΔΑ' | ΓΑΡΕΠΙ | CΚΟΠΟΜΕ | CHMRPI | .C|
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ [M]ιχ(αήλ) ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπο Μεσημβρί[α]ς

If the reading is correct, the owner of the seal is the archbishop of Messembria Michael. It is generally dated to the second half of the XIth century.

Michael could have occupied the chair of Messembria after Gregory and before Hilarion in the list of prelates from the second half of the XIth century.

48. Μεσοποταμίας

It was situated along the lower course of the Euphrates River and was not related to ancient Mesopotamia at all. The Arabs recaptured this territory and turned it into a theme. This happened during the period between 899 and 911 or later in 911. Four Mesopotamias are reported in the Escurial Tactic. The catepanate of Mesopotamia and the strategica of Western Mesopotamia are assumed to have included some territories of the newly captured Bulgarian lands and they were located in the region of the lower Danube (see the commentary at 35A). The dukedom and strategica of Mesopotamia are to be located in the region mentioned above.

During the XIth century Mesopotamia was only a single unit, catepanate or dukedom according to the evolution of this position.

Bibliography: Honigman, *Ostgrece*, 69-70; Pertusi, *De tem.*, 139-140; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 349, 354, 363; Cheynet, *Du strateg au duc*, 189; Kühn, *Armee*, p. 182.

48.1 Ν., καὶ στρατηγὸς Μεσοποταμίας (IXth-Xth century)

Museum of History, Haskovo. Found in the stronghold near the village of Izvorovo, district of Haskovo. D. 17.7-17.8 mm; field 17 mm; thickness 5.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. More than half of the blank is out of the die. Well preserved specimen.

Ed. Йорданов, Марица-Изток, № 5.

No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of invocative cruciform monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ... || .8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | | ..SCTP. | .ΕCΟΠΟ. | .ΜΗΑ
+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει [τῷ σῷ δ]ούλῳ(καὶ) στρ(α)[τ(ηγῶ) Μ]εσοπο[τα]μίας(ς)

The dating of the specimen according to the paleography of some of the letters and its whole appearance is not later than the IXth century. The seal probably belonged to one of the first strategoi of Mesopotamia. It is interesting that the correspondence from the strategos of Macedonia was also received in the same stronghold at the same time (see no. 46.1a).

48.2 Μιχαήλ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Μεσοποταμίας (1060s-1070s)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 24644. D. 23-25 (20) 3 mm. W. 12.40 g. Although the imprint is complete, it has been made on the lower part of the blank.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 282.

Parallels: Two specimens are known to have been struck with the same die: Schlumberger, *Inédits*, V, no. 213; Nesbitt-McGeer-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 4, no. 55.9.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΤΟ | CΟΔΟVM | ΡΕCΤΑΡ | ΧΟV

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- ο - | ΚΕΚΑΤΕ | ΠΑΝΟΜΕ | ΠΑΝΟΜΕ | CΟΠΟΤ | ΜΙΑC
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει το σο δούλ(ω) Μιχ(αήλ) βεστάρχου κὲ κατεπάνω Μεσοποτ(α)μίας

48.3 Ν., β'σπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσοποταμίας (IXth-Xth centuries)

a. Museum of History, Haskovo, no. 1228. Found during archaeological excavations in the summer of 1977 in the Assaria area near the town of Simeonovgrad on the northern slope of the stronghold of Constantia. D. 23.5-25 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Big portions are out of the blank.

Ed. Йорданов, Марица-Изток, № 7.

b. In a private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-28 mm; field (27?); thickness 3 mm. W. 8.58 g. Incomplete imprint. Big portions are out of the blank.

Unpublished.

Obv. Portion of invocative cruciform monogram. In the quarters: TΩ-C. || .8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a) | ..ΩΡ'... | .ΑΡΙΩ.. | .ΠΡΟCΟ. | .ΜΕCΟ.. |
b) | ΩΡ'CΠ .. | ΡΙΩ.... | ΡΟC.... | .ΜΕ....
+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σ[ῷ δ]ούλῳ ω β'σπ[αθ]αρίῳ [(καὶ) ἐκ] προσό[που]
Μεσο[ποταμίας]

It is impossible to decipher the homonym because of the incomplete imprint. The reading of the toponym is unreliable to a certain extent. According to the features of the specimen, the specimen is to be dated to the late IXth or early Xth century. The owner of the seal was ἐκ προσώπου of Mesopotamia but what was his position? Either he substituted the titular strategos, or the seal reflected an earlier period when Mesopotamia was not a theme and ἐκ προσώπου was actually a strategos of the smaller theme according to the opinion of Oikonomides (*Oikonomides, Listes*, p. 342).

After the second half of the IXth century Constantia was within the borders of the Bulgarian state. This fact raises a question: what was the reason for the presence of this seal there? Probably the troops of the Mesopotamia theme sojourned in this region of the empire and thus the correspondence from its two titularies was received in two neighbourly strongholds of this countryside.

48.4 Λέων β'σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Μεσοποταμίας (Xth century)

a. Museum of History, Shoumen, no. 1234/4. Found in Silistra and bought here. D. 25-25 mm; field 29 mm; thickness 0.9 mm. Very clear imprint. All details of the image and text can be seen. The blank is too thin and we do not see a channel for the string. The periphery of the imprint made was cut with scissors. A fragment is broken, about a third of the imprint.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

b. Privately owned. A plaster cast is preserved in the collection of Prof. T. Gerassimov. A note on the reverse informs that the original was in the collection of Dr. V. Haralanov from Shoumen. D. 18.5-20 mm; field 20 mm; thickness ? mm. The imprint is complete but weak and a little effaced. Moreover, it is struck off-center and shaped later. Probably comes from Silistra like the specimens of Dr. V. Haralanov.

Unpublished. No parallels known.
The two specimens are struck with the same die.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael in imperial vestments holding a scepter (r. hand) and globus cruciger (l. hand). Along border of dots circular inscription:ΤΟΥΤΟΥΔΑ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- a) +ΛΕ | ΘΝ'Ρ'ΠΛ | Θ'ΚΑΝΔΔ' | Τ8ΡΜΑΡΧ' | ΜΕC'Π
b) +Λ | ΘΝ'Ρ'ΠΛ | Θ'ΚΑΝΔΔ' | Τ8ΡΜΑΡΧ' | ΜΕC'Π
[+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει] τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Λέων(τι) β' σπ[α]υ(αρο)κάνδ(ι)δ(άτω) [(καί)]
τουρμάρχ(η) Μεσ(ο)π(οταμίας)

The dating of the specimens is generally to the Xth century and it raises the question: what was the character of the correspondence received in the Bulgarian city of Dristra?

49. Μιτυλήνης

The main city of the island of Lesbos. In the IXth century the island of Mytelene constituted a separate fiscal entity with a separate dioiketes. By the middle of the same century it seems to have become the seat of a strategos. The existence of a imperial domain constituting a euratoria can be deduced from seals of the Xth-XIth century. In the XIth century the curator was at a certain point entrusted with the administration and the defense of the island (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 2, p. 51).

49.1 Ἰωάννης Ν., κριτὴς καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ Μιτυλήνης (XIth century)

In a private collection (Ivan Yotov from Yambol). Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa. D. 17-19 mm. Weak and illegible imprint, which renders its reading difficult.

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitsa, no. 32. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla : ..|| Θ̅V̅.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

- .ΘΚΕ.. | .ΘΚΡΙΤ. | ΚΑΙΜΕΓΑ. | Κ8ΡΑΤΩΡ. | ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝ. | Τ.ΚΑΙΗΔ.
[+] Θ(εοτό)κε [β(οή)θει] Ἰω(άννη) κριτ[ῆ] καὶ μεγά[λ(ω)] κουράτωρ[ι] Μιτυλήν[η]ς

50. Μογλενῶν

Moglena was an important strategic and political centre of the medieval Bulgarian state. The later Bulgarian patriarch and kavkhan resided there. It was seized by the Byzantines and emperor Basil II (976-1025) himself took part in the attack. After the takeover the stronghold was destroyed (about these events see Златарски, *История*, I.2, 708-709).

Concerning the place of Μογλενῶν in the Byzantine administrative structure, we do not know anything after its conquest but it became a centre of events again during the last quarter of the XIth century.

According to what was written by Anna Komnena in 1083, Bohemund of Tarentum settled there and recovered the stronghold. He encamped there a garrison led by one count Saracenus. Three months later the great domestikos Gregory Pakourianus besieged Moglena and captured it. He killed Saracenus and razed the stronghold to the ground (see *Αλεξιαδα*, c. 47).

According to the information of chrysobulls of Alexius I Komnenos dated to May 1086 and October 1089 and related to the monastery Lavra, Moglena was a centre of the eponymous theme (see *Lavra*, I, nos. 48-49).

According to the chronicle of John Zonaras and other sources confirming it, after the battle at Levunium in 1091 emperor Alexius I Komnenos "chose a lot of young and strong men and moved them together with their wives and children to the Moglena theme. Then he organized a special military detachment consisting of these men. They are still called "Pechenegs of Moglena" by the place of their settlement" (see Ζωναρά, 204-205).

The name of the Moglena theme was also reported in August 1181 in a praktikon of the emperor Alexius II Komnenos (1180-1182), in which he commanded Andronikos Batatzes in his quality of τῶν κομάνικων προνοίων ἐν τῷ θεματι Μογλενῶν (see *Lavra*, I, no. 65).

In the light of the information provided above the existence of a tourma of Moglena during the second half of the XIth century seems quite reasonable. Perhaps it was a subdivision of the Moglena theme or more probably it was the special military detachment set up by Alexius I. The establishment of the theme of Moglena reported earliest in 1086 could be referred to the 1080s when numerous other Bulgarian medieval cities were put ahead of independent administrative units with subdivisions of tourmas and bands.

50.1 Ἰωσήφ Μανιάκης τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν (XIth century)

Museum of History, Stara Zagora, no. 10C3-1. D. 26-29 mm; field 25 mm; thickness 4 mm. Good imprint but on the reverse slightly doubled because of the slipping of the blank.

Ed. Йорданов, Берое, № 6. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book of the Gospels (l. hand).

Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-NI-KO || Λ-AO-C

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

- ο- | +ΙΩCHΦ | Τ8ΡΜΑΡ | Χ'ΤΩΝΜΟ | ΓΛΕΝΩΝ | ΤΟΜΑΝΙ | ΑΚΗ
+Ἰωσήφ τουρμάρχ(η) τῶν Μογλενῶν το Μανιάκη

In the narrative sources a person bearing this name is not reported. This seal is the only sphragistic source with the toponym of Moglena. The toponym Μογλενῶν and the patronym Μανιάκης are the starting points for our investigation.

The toponym Μογλενῶν was mentioned above.

Ἰωσήφ ὁ Μανιάκης τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν probably was born in the famous family Μανιάκης which was of significant importance for the development of the empire during the XIth-XIIIth century. But we can not exclude another possibility. Anna Komnena wrote that before the battle at Levunium in 1091 a big army of Cumans joined the emperor together with its tribal leaders and one of them was called Μανιακ (see *Αλεξιαδα*, c. 87).

It is possible that this Μανιακ went on to work in the Byzantine army and he was converted and given a Christian name Ἰωσήφ. The heathen name became a patronym as was the usual practice (see Cheynet, *Patronym*, 57-67). It is also possible that Μανιακ was put ahead of the special military detachment which resided in the theme of Moglena.

What was the reason for the tourmarches of Moglena, Joseph Maniakes, to send his letter there? That is difficult to answer. It is also difficult to identify the person to whom the letter was addressed. But in view of the fact that in 1094 the city of Beroe was a centre of important military operations against the invading nomads, these questions could perhaps be answered. The chief of the special military detachment possibly wrote to the generals stationed there: George Palaeologos, John Taronites, Nikephorus Melissinos, etc.

51. Μοσυνόπολις

This ancient and medieval city was located in the hinterland of the present city of Dimotika in Greece. During later Antiquity and the early Middle Ages it was named Maximianopolis. It was a bishopric subordinate to the metropolitan of Traianoupolis.

At the time of the war of Basil II against Bulgaria, this city was transformed into a military camp and strategic base. A lot of military expeditions started and finished there. This strategic importance was also maintained during the time of the Bulgarian rebellion led by Peter Delyan. The city was also a strategic post during the reign of emperor Alexius I Komnenos and the whole Middle Ages until its conquest by the Turks.

According to the Typikon of Gregory Pakourianus, Μοσυνόπολις had the status of banda.

The seal presented below is the first sphragistic source bearing this toponym.

Bibliography: *TIB*, 6, 369-370.

51.1 Εὐστάθιος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς Μοσυνόπολεως (XIth c.)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 122. Found in Pliska. D. 30-30 mm. Badly preserved specimen with missing fields which makes the reading very difficult.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands open before her. Sigla: $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8' | EVCTAΘ'A' | ..A..STO | ..TH... T' | MOC... | Π Ο Λ
+K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Εὐσταθ(ίω) (πρωτο)[σπ]α[θ](αρίω)
(καὶ) το[πο]τη[ρη]τ(ῇ) Μοσ[υνό]πολ(εως).

If the filling in of the missing letters is correct, then Eustathios was a topoterites of Μοσυνόπολις. The commentary of Skylitzes and Kekaumenos presented the city as a starting point for military operations of the Byzantine emperor against southwestern Bulgaria. It is logical to assume that a tagma resided there which took part in the military expeditions. We do not know the name of this military unit but probably it was named after the city where it was stationed. Moreover, it was an imperial military residence. The owner of the seal presented above was a topoterites of this military unit.

The seal is dated generally to the XIth century. The unearthing of the specimen in Pliska is quite natural and logical because it was probably related to the military expeditions of the Byzantine army into this countryside.

52. Μόρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως

The name of this administrative unit is unknown from the sources with the exception of the sphragistic ones. Only during the XIIth century and more exactly in 1198 Μόρρας was reported in a chrysobull of Alexius III Angelos as an independent theme (Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, 269, 279, n. 85).

The following ἐκ προσώπου of Morra and Philippoupolis are known by their seals:

1. Νικόλαος ἐκ προσώπου Μόρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως presented by a single specimen (Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 115, no. 2; Seibt, *Bulgarische Geschichte*, no. 4).

2. Ν. Ν., ἐκ προσώπου Μόρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως presented by a single specimen (Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 240). It is badly preserved and the reading of the homonym and patronym is problematic. Seibt (*Bulgarische Geschichte*, no. 3) is inclined to assume that it refers to Nicephorus Protevonos.

3. Ροῦσος σπαθᾶριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μόρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως.

One may ask: what was the period of existence for this administrative unit? If we assume that ἐκ προσώπου was governor (strategos) of a smaller theme, then it is to be dated before the establishment of the catepanate of Philippoupolis. But if the office of ἐκ προσώπου means an imperial proxy in the fiscal office for a particular theme or some cities, then this unit could be assumed as contemporary to the catepanate of Philippoupolis.

52.1 Ροῦσος σπαθᾶριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μόρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως (XIth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 28698. Found in the region of Plovdiv, D. 26-29 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Struck off-center. The edge of the specimen is broken and bent. All this makes the reading of the text difficult.

Ed. Jordanov, Plovdiv, no. 37. No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription: K V Λ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

|.8CO | ..AΘA. | .ΕΚΠ. | ΜΟΡΑΣ. | ΦΙΛΙΠ | ΠΟΛ'
[+K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) [Ρ]οῦσο [σπ]αθ[α]ρ(ίω) (καὶ)] ἐκ π[ρ]οσ[ό]π[ο]υ]
Μόρας [(καὶ)] Φιλιπ(που)πόλ(εως)

It is obvious that this official was not Greek by birth. Probably he was hired by the empire. The name Ροῦσος is often related to Russia (see the commentary about the name Ρουσόπουλος of Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, I, no. 124). We would like to add the information of the seal of Θεόδωρος Ροῦσος πριμικήριος (see Koltzida-Makre, no. 231).

53. Νέος Στρυμών

This strategia is known from a single source, the Escorial Tactic, which noted two strategeias: ὁ Στρυμόνος ἦτοι Χρυσάβας and ὁ τοῦ Νέος Στρυμόνος (Oikonomides, *Listes*, 265.33, 269.4).

These two strategeias were established on the territory of the former theme of Strymon and they were part of the strategic circle maintained by the empire against the restored western Bulgarian state. Probably they belonged to the dukedom of Thessalonica. Because of the scanty information, there are different versions in the literature concerning the location and territorial scope of the strategia of New Strymon. According to Oikonomides, it could be situated in the region east of the Mesta River and south of the Rhodope Mountains or north of Krushevo along the Upper Mesta. It was established after the conquest of these lands by Tzimisces in 971. It is assumed that the former theme of Strymon was recovered after the death of the aforementioned emperor. The name of New Strymon is not reported later in the written sources.

The specimens presented below are the only material evidence for its existence.

Bibliography: Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 357; Стоименов, *Временна*, 52-53.

53.1 Στέφανος β' πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Νέος Στρυμόνος (971-976)

a-f. All six specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 283-288.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Panteleimon holding a martyr's cross before chest (r. hand) and an uncertain object, perhaps a medicine box (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Π-A-N||T-Ε-Λ-Ε'. Along border of dots circular inscription: +ΑΓΠΙΑΝΤΕΛ...ΡΤΔ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+CTEΩ | ΦΑΝΩΡ'Α' | ΣΠΑΘ'SCTP' | ΤΗΓΩΤ8N' | CTPVMΩ
+Ἀγ(ι)ε Παντελ[εήμ(ων)] β(οή)θει τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λ(ω) Στεφάν(ω) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω)
(καὶ) στρ(α)τηγῷ τοῦ Ν(έος) Στρυμῶ(νος)

In 1995, during archaeological excavations near the palace in Pliska, a seal was found belonging to the same person, but only with the rank of strategos, without a title or toponym (see Димитров, Я. Новооткрит византийски моливдовул от Плиска.- *Трудове на катедрите по история и богословие към ШУ*, 1, 1997, 102-107). Probably this seal reflects a later or earlier stage in the career of Stephanos strategos of New Strymon.

53a. Νέων Πατρῶν

Today Hypate in Greece. On the location and history see Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 581; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 2, no. 18.

53a.1 Κοσμάς μητροπολίτης Νέων Πατρῶν (XIth century)

In a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: the region of the medieval fortress near the town of Provadia, D. 19-19 (17) 4 mm. A well-centered and well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Athens Numismatic Museum, no. 67. See Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 759.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding the medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΟC | ΜΑCΜΡΟ | ΠΟΛΗΝΕ | ΠΡWΝ
+Κοσμάς μ(ητ)ροπολή(της) Νέ(ων) Π(ατ)ρῶν

It will be interesting to determine to whom in the fortress near the modern Provadia the metropolitan of Neai Patrai wrote. Perhaps to his spiritual brother – the local prelate.

54. Νικοπόλεως

It is an old Christian community since the time of the apostle Paul and capital of Epyrus since the reign of Diocletian. The city received a special boost at the time of Justinian I (527-565) who restored it after its demolition by the Goths. About 733 the chair of Nikopolis was ceded by the Roman church, together with the whole of Illyric, to the Constantinople patriarchate. It is mentioned in various sources until the Xth century when the seat was moved to Naupaktos. This is best illustrated by the notitiae VI and VII (see **Darrouzes**, *Notitiae*, nos. VI.46 et VII.575).

Bibliography: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 504 and **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, 9-10, where the possibility is discussed of localizing the Nikopolis chair in other cities of Thrace, i.e. Nikopolis ad Nestum and not ad Istrum as was wrongly suggested in the first edition.

54.1 Λέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νικοπόλεως (IXth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 30-30 (23) 2.5 mm. Good but unclear imprint.

Ed. **Мухомов**, Печати, № 31; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 670.

Parallels: Other specimens imprinted with the same couple of dies are kept in: DO 47.2.118; Dalleggio (Athens); Diamanti (Vienna) and the National Museum of Hungary (about them see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 670; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, no. 2.12).

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ΤΩ-ΘΩ || Δ8-ΛΘ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΛΕΟΝΤ | ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚ | Κ'ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛ | .ΝΑΜΗΝ

+Θ(εο)τ(ο)κ(ε) βο(η)θ(ει) τ(ω) σ(ω)φ(ο)ν δ(ο)υ(λ)ω Λέοντ(ι) ἀρχιεπισκ(ό)π(ω) Νικοπόλ[ε(ω)]ν ἀμήν

Probably because of its poor preservation and illegibility, the first publisher of the specimen, could not decipher the homonym and toponym. He suggested the following reading: Ἀσοντ ... ἀρχιεπισκ(ό)π(ω) Νικοπόλ[ε(ω)]ς. These mistakes were somewhat corrected by **Dölger**, *BZ*, 36, 1936, 268-269; **Banescu**, *Recueil*, p. 726 and **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, табл. LXI.4. The *Corpus* of **Laurent** suggests a reading of the toponym Νικοπόλ(ο)λεως, i.e. doubling of the last two letters. A total correction of the text and dating is available in the last publication of **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, no 2.12.

55. Νίσος

It was situated on the right bank of the Nišava River which is the present territory of the town of Niš in Serbia. Νίσος was a strategic city in antiquity. Its importance increased significantly during the time of emperor Constantine I the Great (306-337) who was born there. At this time the city was turned into a state residence and Christian centre (see **Николов**, Г. Политико-административно и църковно развитие на град Ниш (IV-VI в.).- *ГСУ-НЦСВП "Иван Дуйчев"*, 1, 1987, 181-191).

Next to nothing is known about Nisos from the time of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, except that it was a bishopric and was captured by the Byzantines in the early XIth century. Νίσος focused the attention of the chroniclers when it became a centre of important events in and out of the empire. In 1071 the city was seized and sacked by the Magyars. The hand of St. Prokopios from his relics preserved there was also stolen (see **Kalič**, Niš, 5-11).

In the autumn of 1072 a rebellion of the Bulgarians erupted. Constantine Bodin was appointed czar and the new dynastic name of Peter was given to him. Right after that his army was divided into two and part of it led by Bodin-Peter set off for Nisos. Soon after that the city was captured and turned into a residence of the new ruler (**Златарски**, *История*, II, 143-146).

The importance of Nisos increased greatly at the time of the Crusades when it was one of the most important fortresses on the road of the crusaders. The quite detailed information of the Western chroniclers about the passage through the Bulgarian lands of the members of the crusade in 1096 proves the importance of the city of Nisos for this countryside (see **Алберт Аквенски**, *История на Ерусалимския кръстоносен поход*.- *ЛИБИ*, 3, С., 1965, 146-150). The name of the then doux of the city, Nicetas, is known from this information as well.

A propos, when was the theme of Nisos established?

The *Alexiad* discloses that in 1114-1115 the theme of Nisos already existed (τὸ θέμα τοῦ Νίσου; see *Alexiade*, III, p. 178.1).

Some sphragistic evidence and indirect information obtained by the chronicles give us reasons to suggest that such an administrative unit existed earlier.

At the time of the above mentioned rebellion of Bulgarians, the first detachment was forwarded to Nisos and the second one to Kastoria. The strategos of Achrida Marianus and the patrikios and antypathos of Devol Theognostos Bourtzes, as well as the strategos of Kastoria, fortified their position there (**Skylitzes**, *Continue*, p. 164, 12-14). The enumerating of these strategoi, heads of small military-administrative units consisting of the respective city and its surroundings, shows (even though indirectly) that there was such a strategos in Nisos too.

This logical analysis is also grounded on the evidence obtained by some sphragistic remains:

1. A seal belonged to Νικηφόρος Λαλάκων πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Νίσου which is attested by his molybdebull dated to the second half of the XIth century (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 32.1).

Νίσος was an old Christian centre as early as the IIIrd-IVth centuries. It contained holy relics and a significant number of martyrs for the Christian faith.

The local bishopric dated before 325, and until the setting up of Justiniana Prima (novella IX from the 14th May 535) it was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Thessalonika, but after that it was subordinate to the head of Justiniana Prima.

In 613-616 the city was destroyed by the Avars and further information about it is lacking until its inclusion within the borders of the Bulgarian state (see **Николов**, Ниш (IV-VI век), 181-197).

There is no direct evidence about the place of the city in the church structure of the First Bulgarian Kingdom after the conversion but it was probably a bishopric again. The bishop of Nisos was mentioned by the first charter of Basil II from 1018 and it is a known fact that it confirmed the existing state of affairs (see *ГИБИ*, 6, 43-44: "...the present most holy archbishop is to govern all Bulgarian bishoprics which were ruled by tzar Peter and Samuel and were held by the then archbishops").

After the restoration of the Bulgarian church and state Nisos is once again a bishopric. The name of the Nisos bishop Kyriak is disclosed in a letter of the Bulgarian bishops to Pope Innocent III written in 1203 (see *ЛИБИ*, 3, c. 337).

The cathedral church of the city was named after "the blessed and most famous great martyr Procopius" (see *ЛИБИ*, 3, c. 337). His relics were kept in the city probably in the eponymous church. When the Magyars attacked Nisos in 1072, they stole the hand of the martyr and brought it to the church of St. Demetrios in Sirmium. Almost 100 years later it was returned to Nisos and placed in the church by emperor Manuel I Komnenos (see **Kinam**, c. 251).

In addition to the seal of the bishop of Nisos Symeon presented below, a seal of Constantine, proedros of Nisos in the XIIth century, has also been published (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 1510). Both seals feature on their reverses the image of the city's patron St. Procopius.

55.1 Νικηφόρος Δεκανός κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσος (XIth-XIIth cent.)

a. Preserved in the collection of National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 27705. Find-spot: Sozopol. D. 17-17.5 mm; field (?) mm; thickness 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint because the blank was smaller than the diameter of the die or equal to it. A badly preserved specimen. Corroded. All this makes the complete reading of the text difficult.

b. In a private collection (Vurban Vurbanov from Elhovo). Delivered to the National Museum of History, Sofia, by the police. The principal group of seals from this collection come from the stronghold near the village of Melnitza, district of Elhovo. D. 18-20 mm. Incomplete imprint but well preserved.

The two specimens are struck with the same boulloterion.

Ed. a: **Йорданов**, И. Новооткрит моливдовул на Никифор Декан - куропалат, дук и анаграф на Ниш от колекцията на НИМ-София.- *ГНИМ*, 9, 1994, 75-79; b: **Jordanov**, Melnitza, no. 45.

Parallels: Another specimen struck with the same die is preserved in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.2577). It was published for the first time in 1991 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, no. 32.1) even if the obtained information has been used many times (see for instance **Gautier**, *L'Obituaire*, p. 257, n. 60).

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- a) +.ΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ' | Κ8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤΙ
b) . . ΕΡ'Θ' | . . . ΗΦΟΡ' | . 8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤΙ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- a) Δ8Κ . . | ΑΝΑΓΡΑ . | ΝΗC8Τ. | ΔΕΚΑΝ
b) Δ8ΚΙS | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦ | ΝΗC8Τ. | ΔΕ . . .
+[Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νίκηφόρ(ω) κουροπαλάτι δουκὶ (καὶ) ἀναγραφ(εῖ) Νήσου τ[ῶ]
Δεκαν(ῶ)]

The owner of the seal which had affixed his correspondence to the capital city of Constantinople and Sozopol, as well as the stronghold near the village of Melnitza, was one Nicephorus Dekanos titled kouropalates and anagrapheus of the Nisos theme.

This seal raises many questions but the following ones should be answered:

- a) Who was Nicephorus Dekanos?
b) What was the administrative unit of the Nisos theme like?
c) Who was the intended recipient of his correspondence to Sozopol?

The combination of the title of kouropalates and the office of doux and anagrapheus enables the seal to be dated to the late XIth century or the early XIIth century and thus an attempt to identify the owner of the seal as a person known from the narrative sources is possible.

The Byzantine princess and writer Anna Komnena noted that her father, the emperor Alexius I, left the capital city of Constantinople in November 1107 in order to prepare military operations against Bohemond of Tarentum and before that "after sitting the affairs of palace and capital in good order and after and appointing as governors, the Great Drungarios of the Fleet, the eunuch Eustathius Kymeneianus, and Nicephorus, the son of Dekanos, he left..." (see *Alexiade*, III, 87.11, translated in *ГИБИ*, 8, c. 122).

The report of Anna Komnena does not define the title and office of Nicephorus Dekanos. Nevertheless, the coincidence between the names and the period, as well as the discovery in Sozopol of a seal which belonged to another representative of the Dekanos family, George as kouropalates (unpublished from the collection of National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 27787), who is also reported in the *Alexiade*, give us reasons to suggest that the owner of the seal presented here was Nicephorus Dekanos mentioned in the *Alexiade*.

What positions did Nicephorus Dekanos occupy and what was the administrative unit inscribed on the seals?

The positions of doux (developed from military chief to administrative governor) and anagrapheus (fiscal official), combined on the seal of an identical person, illustrate the trends of the Byzantine administrative structure during the second half of the XIth century. At that time every provincial governor enjoyed full power over the military, administrative, fiscal and juridical authorities, i.e. he became in fact the real proxy of the emperor in a particular region.

We dwelled above on the administrative unit and the time of its establishment. Considering the dating of the seal and the persons who wrote to Sozopol (and in the first place this was the brother of Nicephorus Dekanos, George), as well as their common recipient, we can generally refer the receiving of the correspondence from Nicephorus Dekanos to 1090s. Thus, Nicephorus Dekanos should be a predecessor or successor of the aforementioned doux of Nisos Nicetas.

There is no information about the question in what capacity Nikephorus Dekanos ruled the capital city in November 1107 (perhaps he was an eparchos) but surely he had higher rank in the hierarchy than that inscribed on his seal from Sozopol. Having in mind the high position of his colleague Eustathius Kymeneianus, we can conclude that Nicephorus Dekanos had the rank of nobelissimos or protonobelissimos (see *Seibt*, *Bleisiegel*, no. 100).

55.2 Συμεὼν ἐπίσκοπος Νίσος (XIth century)

Museum of History, Vidin, no. 1526. Find-spot: Vidin. D. 15-16.5 (15) 2.9 mm. Incomplete imprint. All letters are not present on the blank. The molybdo bulb is also partly damaged.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Prokopios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: .-ΠΡ-Ο || .-Π'.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- .Κ.Ρ'. | CVMΕON | ΕΠΙCΚΩ | Π'ΝΙC
[+] Κ(ύρι)[ε] β(οή)[θ(ει)] Συμεὼν ἐπισκώπ(ω) Νίσ(ου)

The name of this bishop of Nisos is unknown from other sources. The molybdo bulb is generally dated to the XIth century. The depiction of St. Procopius on the reverse hints that at that time the cathedral church named after this martyr already existed. I stress this detail because the historians of Nisos ask when the cathedral church was built (see *Kalič*, Niš, 5-40).

The discovery of the molybdo bulb in Vidin is a proof that the correspondence of the Nisos bishop Symeon was received there. It was probably addressed to the local bishop and was perhaps provoked by the common interests of the two neighbouring dioceses.

56. 'Οφίκιον

The name and the origin of this theme are related to the army corps of the same name camped at Bythynia which was a unit defending Constantinople from the East. The main city was Nicaea. The theme was established at the time of the emperor Constantine IV (668-685) and more exactly in 680. By tradition its governor was a κόμης, as well as a στρατηγός. This theme existed until the XIIth century.

Bibliography: *Pertusi*, *De tem.*, 127-130; *Oikonomides*, *Listes*, 264, 348; *Gregoriou-Ioanidou*, 42.26, 96.305; *Nesbitt-Oikonomides*, *DOS*, 3, p. 55.

56.1 Ν., .. καὶ κόμης τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου β' 'Οφικίου (mid. IXth century)

National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 30448. Formerly in the collection of D. Dimitrov from Pernik. Found near the village of Kalugerovo, district of Haskovo. D. 16-26 mm. A fragment, about a quarter of the original seal.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Portion of a cruciform invocative monogram. In the quarters only letters: ...||Δ8- are preserved.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- | |.ΜΙΤΙ.. | .ΕΩΦV.. | Β'β'ΙΚ
+Θ(εοτόκ)ε βοήθει [τῷ σῶ] δού[λῳ]...(καὶ) κο[μίτι] [τοῦ θ]εωφυ[λ(ά)κ(του)] β' 'Οφικ(ί)[ου]

The only certain information is that the owner of the seal who wrote to a recipient, unknown to us, in the stronghold near the present village of Kalugerovo was a κόμης τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου β' 'Οφικίου.

The invocative cruciform monogram, as well as the paleography of several letters and mostly of the closed Β, refer the seal to the mid. IXth century.

56.2 Λέων Περινός τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ 'Οφικίου (Xth-XIth centuries)

In a private collection. Delivered to the National Museum of History, Sofia, where we have documented it. Find-spot: uncertain (but surely on the territory of Bulgaria). D. 18-18 mm. Good imprint but struck a bit off-centre.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: || Κ-Ο- Λ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- ΛΕΟΝ | ΤΟΠΟΤΙ. | Τ'Τ8ΟΨ. | Κ'ΤΟΠ. | ΡΕΝ'|
Λέον(τι) τοποτι[ρ(ι)]τῇ τοῦ 'Οφ[ι]κ(ί)ου το Π[ε]ρεν(ῶ)

If the filling in of the text is correct, the owner of the seal was Λέων Περινός τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ 'Οφικίου. The seal bearing the name of the same person is known as μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως (see here no. 26.5).

If they are one and the same person, then his career developed logically. He was earlier a topoteretes of the tagma in the theme of Opsikion and later he was put in general command of the Byzantine army in the Balkans.

56.3 Νικήτας πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, τοῦ βήλου καὶ αναγραφεὺς τοῦ Ὀφικίου (XIth century)

Museum of History, Silistra, no. 1984. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 24-25 (?) 3 mm.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, II, № 11.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of six lines:

..... |ΤΩ.. | .ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | .ΣΠΑΘ'ΕΠ.. | .ΓΚΛΙ. |

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | .ΠΙΤ8... | .Ρ'Τ8RH.. | .ΑΝΑΓ... | Τ8ΟΨΙ. | 8

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ [σῶ δ(ούλῳ)] [Νικήτα [(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίῳ) ἐπ[ὶ τ(οῦ) χρ(υσο)τρι]κλί[νου] [καὶ κριτ(ῇ) ἐ]πὶ τοῦ [ἵππ(ο)δ]ρ(όμου) τοῦ βή[λου (καί)] ἀναγ[ραφ(εῖ)] τοῦ Ὀφ[ι]κ(ί)ου

57. Ὀπτιμάτων

Although the Latin etymology of the word "optimates" means elite corps, in fact it refers to the corps of the muleteers or, in the last resort, the squires (orderlies) of cavalrymen. The muleteers in Byzantium were recruited from a certain region of Bythinia which was adjacent to the Opsikion theme and it was called "the theme of the optimates". This unit was intermediate between theme and subdivision of the tagma. The optimates were headed by domestikos and his assistants - topoteretes, chartularios, etc. It did not have subdivisions, as common themes would have - turmas, bandas, etc.

But during the XIth century the titularies related to it were κριτῆς τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων and it could be already considered as a common theme.

Bibliography: Bury, *System*, 66-67; Pertusi, *De tem.*, 130-133; Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 339; Gregoriou-Ioanidou, 42.29.

57.1 Κωνσταντῖνος βεστάρχης καὶ κριτῆς τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων (third quarter of the XIth century)

Museum of History, Kyustendil, no. 1240. Found during archaeological excavations on the fortress of Kyustendil in 1966 north of the fortifications. Depth: 1.50 m. D. 31-32 mm. Originally good imprint but at present the surface is scratched with a sharp edge.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΔΗ-ΜΗ || Τ-ΡΙ-ΟC

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΚΩΝΡΕC | ΤΑΡΧΗΣ | ΚΡΙΤ'ΤΟΝ | ΟΠΤΙΜΑ | -ΤΩ-

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) Κων(σταντίνῳ) βεστάρχη καὶ κριτ(ῇ) τὸν Ὀπτιμάτω(ν)

58. Παραδουνάβου

In 1018 Byzantium finally conquered Bulgaria and included it in its military-administrative system. The katepanate of Παραδουνάβου was part of it.

Several generations of medievalists have been discussing the problems of when this katepanate was established, what were its boundaries and until when it existed.

The information of Byzantine sphragistics, compared with that of the written sources, can promote this discussion.

List of the dignitaries known from the narrative sources whose career was connected with the government of Paristrion

1. Κατακαλὼν Κεκαυμένος βέστης καὶ ἄρχων ὧν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεων καὶ χωρίων who routed the Russian troops in 1043 on their return from Constantinople near Varna (see Skylitzes, 433.27-28).

2. Μιχαὴλ πατρίκιος καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν παριστρίων πόλεων in 1048 (see Skylitzes, 457.31-32).

3. Ῥωμανὸς Διογένης ἄρχων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεων before 1067 (see Attaleiates, 97-98; Skylitzes, *Continuatus*, 121-122; Κεκαυμεν, c. 266.7-8).

4. Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης καὶ ἐπαρχοντος τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεων before 1064-1065 (see Attaleiates, p. 83; Skylitzes, *Continuatus*, 113-114).

5. Νέστωρ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω τῆς Δρίστρας or δοῦξ Παριστρίων (1071-1072) (see Skylitzes, *Continuatus*, 166, 16-17; Attaleiates, 205 and 207).

6. Λέων Νικερίτης [κουροπάλατης] καὶ δοῦξ Παραδουνάβου in 1091 (see Alexiade, II, 155.7-10).

To sum up, what is common between the Byzantine dignitaries under review who are specified by the narrative sources as governors of the cities on Istrum (ἄρχων ὧν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεων καὶ χωρίων) is that they have not been attested by their seals in that capacity. Certain seals could be associated with them most frequently in their capacity as commanders of tagmas (katepano or doux), sent there for concrete military operations, and as such they took command over all Byzantine troops present there.

Seals of Byzantine dignitaries whose posts were connected with the katepano of Παραδουνάβου

1. Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1050s), see below;

2. Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον (1050s-1060s), see below;

3. Συμεὼν βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1050s-1060s), see below;

4. Μιχαὴλ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1060s), according to his lead seal (see Zacos, *Seals*, II, no. 602).

5. Βασίλειος ἐκ προσώπου Παραδουνάβου (1050s-1060s), according to his lead seal (see Zacos, *Seals*, II, no. 956).

6. Ἰωάννης τουρμάρχης Παραδουνάβου (1060s), according to his lead seal (see Zacos, *Seals*, II, no. 530).

The analysis of the seals with the Paradounavon toponym that have come down to us leads to an assertion contrary to the aforesaid. None of the titularies holding posts in the katepanate known to us from sphragistic monuments has been evidenced in the written sources.

The toponym Παραδουνάβου and Παραδουνάβιτον inscribed on them is the Slavic translation of Podunavie (along the Danube) and it must have been the official name of the katepanate. Παριστρίων, which is exclusively found in the chronicles, is in all probability a literary term.

Finally, let us try to answer the question raised in the beginning: when was the katepanate of Paradounavon established?

In the literature there are two opinions about this:

a) the theme of Paristrion was set up after the conquest of the Bulgarian lands by the Byzantines in 1018 (There is a version of this opinion belonging to the Romanian researchers that the theme of Paristrion already existed in 971);

b) Paristrion became an independent administrative unit after 1059 in connection with the invasion of the Pechenegs.

According to the aforementioned documented sphragistic monuments, the katepanate of Paradounavon came into being after the 1050s at the earliest. Objections could be made that no seals from this earlier period have ever been found but such are the circumstances.

These facts could be supported by some secondary evidence.

If we accept the hypothesis that in 1018 all conquered Bulgarian lands were included in one military-administrative unit, the theme of Bulgaria, then some coincidences arise:

1. In the theme of Bulgaria there is evidence of a number of smaller military-administrative units - in northern Bulgaria the strategoi of Preslav, Preslavitsa, Dristra and others;

2. All conquered Bulgarian lands, including the Dristra diocese, are unified in one ecclesiastical-administrative unit - the archbishopric of Bulgaria;

3. After the 1050s the appearance of a metropolitan of Dristra subordinate is recorded not to the Bulgarian archbishop but directly to the patriarch of Constantinople;

4. After the 1050s we also ascertain the appearance of seals with the name of the katepanate of Paradunavon on sphragistic monuments;

5. A well-known fact is that in the Byzantine administrative system these two things - the territorial extent and the capital city of the civil and ecclesiastical administrative structures - usually coincided;

6. After the 1050s no strategoi are known from the seals of the aforementioned cities which should have been smaller divisions of the katepanate of Paradunavon. Only its *tourmarchos* and *ek prosopou* are known.

The direct and indirect evidence mentioned leads to the conclusion that the katepanate of Paradunavon was established after the 1050s in connection with the nomads' invasions, mostly the Pechenegs, against whom military expeditions were difficult to organise from the theme of Bulgaria and its capital city Skopia.

On the other hand, we have to take into consideration the fact that the lands along the lower Danube were always organised in some kind of military-administrative unit, which most frequently bore the name of the largest city there, Dristra.

Until when did the katepanate of Paradounavon exist? According to the sphragistic monuments, from the 1050s to the 1070s.

The review of the provincial administration in the late XIth and early XIIth century reveals the practice that the names of the particular military-administrative units, most frequently duxdoms, used to bear the name of a given city. For instance, Dyrachion with dux George Palaeologos and Alexias and John Komnenoi; Philippoupolis with dux Argyros Karatzas, Gregory Kourkouas and George Mesopotamites; Triaditza with dux Nicephorus Melissinos; Nisos with dux Nicephorus Dekonos; Skopia with dux John Komnenos and others.

Bibliography: **Иречек, К.** *История болгар*, Одесса, 1878, с. 264; **Успенский, Ф.** *Образование Второго болгарского царства*, Одесса, 1879, 17-18, 57; **Златарски, И.** *История*, II, 111-114; **Скабаланович, Виз.** *государство*, 225-229; **Панченко, ИРАИК**, X, с. 296; **Мутафчиев, Дръстър**, 158-159; **Banescu, Duches**, 45-98; **Magearu, A.** The Military Organization of Paradounavon, *Byzantinoslavica*, 60, 1999, 2, 421-446; **Jordanov, I.** The katepano of Paradounavon - according to the Sphragistic Date, XXth International Byzantine Congress, 19-25.08.2001, Paris (in print).

58.1 Δημήτριος Κατακαλών ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (50s of the XIth century)

a. It is preserved somewhere in Romania. Found in Silistra. D. 23-24 mm; field 20 mm. Originally good imprint but at present badly preserved specimen with a broken upper fragment.

Ed. **Banescu**, *Katakalon*, 405-408.

b. National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 13131. Found in Silistra on the bank of the Danube. D. 21.5-24 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. Originally good imprint but struck a bit off-centre. Perfectly preserved specimen.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Силистра*, I, № 8.

The two specimens are struck with the same die.

Parallels: Other three specimens are known which are struck with the same bulloterion: **Banescu**, N. *Sceau de Demetrios Katakalon katepano de Paradounavon*, - *EO*, 39, 1940, 157-160; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 67.1.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: ⬤-ΔΗ-Μ' || T-PI-O'

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΔΗΜΗΤΡ. | ΑΝΘΥΠ'Τ'ΠΡ | ΣΚΑΤΕΠΑΝΘ | Τ8ΠΑΡΑΔ'Ρ' | ΤΟΝΚΑΤ'Κ' | -Λ-
+Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) Δημητρ[ί(ω)] ἀνθυπ(ά)τ(ω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ) κατεπάνου τοῦ
Παραδ(ουνά)β(ου) τὸν Κατ(α)κ(α)λ(ών)

Demetrios Katakalon has been attested only by his seals. They outline his cursus honorum which I have submitted.

a) σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τουρμάρχης (1030s-1040s), according to an unpublished lead seal from Dumbarton Oaks (DO 55.1.3091).

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. ..ΕΡ'Θ'|ΔΗΜΗΤΡ'|ΠΑΘΑΡ'ΚΑΝ| ΔΔ'ΣΤΡΟΜΑΡ|Χ'ΤΟΚΑΤΑ|ΚΑΛΟ

b) πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός (1050s), according to two lead seals found in the North-Eastern Bulgaria (see *Iatrus-Krivina*, I, no. 508; **Jordanov**, *Sceaux*, 92-93 and an unpublished one found at Silistra);

c) ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1050s);

d) βέστης ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s), according to a lead seals found at Silistra (see **Йорданов**, *Силистра*, III, № 3).

e) πρόεδρος (1070s), according to the inscription of the church of St. Nicholas in Thessaly (see **Avramea-Feissel**, *Inscriptions*, no. 14, p. 370-71).

f) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ (1070s-1080s), according to his lead seals found at Istanbul (see **Avramea-Feissel**, *Inscriptions*, no. 14, p. 371).

Δημήτριος Κατακαλών's career was ordinary. He climbed almost all rungs of the hierarchical ladder of ranks from σπαθαροκανδιδάτος to πρωτοπρόεδρος and of positions from τουρμάρχης to δοῦξ.

His official career involved being in command of the army in the provinces. Judging by the fact that almost all of his lead seals are found in Dristra and other localities in northeastern Bulgaria and that for some time he was also katepano of Paradounavon, it could be suggested that for quite a long period of time (perhaps over 20 years) his life was connected with the Bulgarian lands.

58.2 Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον (1050s-1060s)

In a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Found near to village Izvorovo, district of Silistra. D. 30-30 (27) 4 mm. W. 15.16 g. A complete and comparatively well preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟ | ΠΡ | ΑΝΘΥ | ΠΑΤ'ΡΕC | ΤΗ

Rev. Inscription of six lines, preceded by an ornament:

ΚΑΙΚΑ | ΤΕΠΑΝΩ | ΤΩΝΠΑΡΑ | Δ8ΝΑΡΙΤ' | ΤΩ?ΗΓΟ | -ΝΙΤ'-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δοῦ(λῳ) Θεοδώρ(ο) π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) ἀνθυπάτ(ω) βέστη καὶ
κατεπάνω τῶν Παραδουνάβιτ(ων) τῷ Πηγονίτ(ῃ)

Theodore Pegonites is unknown from the sources. He is a representative of the famous family of the Pegonites. Three groups of his seals are known. They describe his cursus honorum as follows:

a) πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός (1040s), according to his unpublished lead seal kept in Vienna.

Obv. | +ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΙΤΩ|CΩΔ8Λ'|ΘΕΟΔΩ|-ΡΩ-

Rev. |ΠΑΤΡ|ΚΙΩΚΕ|CΤΡΑΤΗ|Γ'ΤΟΠΗ|ΓΟΝΗΤ|

b) πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω τὸν Παραδουνάβιτον (1050s-1060s).

c) μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Εδεσης before 1066, according to lead seal from Dumbarton Oaks (DO 58.106.4919), see **Nesbitt, McGeer and Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 73.2).

Theodore Pegonites was katepano of Paradounavon after Demetrios Katakalon and before Symeon vestes.

58.3 Συμεὼν βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1060s)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 2382. Found in the palace and related to the activities of the strategia of Preslav.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 289.

Parallels: Two specimens struck with the same die have been found in Istanbul (**Mordtmann**, *Μολυβδοβουλλα*, σ. 144, no. 1) and Dinogetia (**Barnea**, *Dinogetia*, I, 332-335).

Obv. St. Nicholas standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

O-A-Γ-I-O-C ||

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .VMEΩN |KA |ΩT8 | ..PAΔ8 | .AROV | - • -

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Σ]υμεών [βέστη (καί)] κα[τεπάνω]υ τοῦ [Πα]ραδου[ν]άβου

Symeon has been evidenced only by sphragistic monuments which illustrate his career in two distinct periods:

a) βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1050s-1060s);

b) βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας (1060s), according to two lead seals found at Preslav (see here no. 3.9).

59. Πατζινακίας

This territory was not located within the limits of medieval Bulgaria. Pechenegs were settled there as federates of the Empire. The following sphragistic material is the only source for this archondom.

59.1 Ἰωάννης Κεγένης μάγιστρος καὶ ἄρχων Πατζινακίας (1050-1051)

Museum of History, Silistra, no. 4. Found in Silistra by D. Cholakov. D. 28-30 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 2-5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The blank was slipped from the boulloterion.

Ed. Jordanov, I. Sceau d'archonte de Patzinakia du XI^e siècle.- *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2, 1992, 79-83; Йорданов, И. Печати на Йоан Кеген, магистър и архонт на Печенегия.- *Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 1, 1998, 96-101.

Parallels: Seibt-Zarnitz, *Kunstwerk*, no. 3.2.9. Struck with the same boulloterion. Because of its importance, we presented above the transcript of the text of this specimen.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Baptist bearded, facing; wears a chymation; blessing with r. hand, a long cross in l. hand. Inscription in two columns: ☉-ΙΩ||ο-Π-ΔΡ-Μ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΚΕΡ' | ΙΩΜΑΓ.. | TP'SAPX. | T'ΠΑΤ.. | ΚΙΑΤ.. | -...-

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) μαγ[ίσ]τρ(ω) (καί) ἄρχ(ο)[ν]τ(ι) Πατζ(ι)[ν]ακία(ς) τ[ῶ] Κ(ε)γέν(η)]

Perhaps this is the first sphragistic source directly related to the administration of the ethnic society of the Pechenegs after their settling in the Bulgarian lands. The main problem with the interpretation of this exceptional source was the incompleteness of the imprint because the patronym of the owner consisting of original name of this chieftain of Pechenegs (but not of Christian one given to him after Christian converting) could not be deciphered.

Several proposals were made about filling in of the patronym but they were just guesswork, even though one of them assumed that this person could be Kegenes. We just hoped for the appearance of a new molybdebull with a more complete imprint. It seems that fortune is favourable because we already have such a complete imprint with a patronym inscribed on it. Recently the Byzantine seals from a private collection in Germany have been published. The seal of our interest was among them as it was struck with the same bulloterion, whose transcript we presented above.

After coping with the problem of the patronym, we can conclude that a Pecheneg person is concerned who was converted and a Christian name John was given to him. Before these events he had the pagan name Kegenes. Therefore we have to present here all the information about this name.

It is limited. The name Kegenes is mentioned in the *A Synopsis of Histories* of John Skylitzes retold concisely by John Zonaras, as well as in a letter of Michael Pselos which was sent to the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1056).

The following evidence about the person of Kegenes is excerpted from the most detailed source, the English translation of John Skylitzes, (*Skyllitzes-Wortley*, 242-243): "Tyrach [Τυράχ], son of Kilter [Κίλτερ], highly distinguished by birth but otherwise unremarkable, a man who preferred to live in peace. But there was another person in that people [the Pechenegs] whose

name was Kegenes [Κεγένης], son of Baltzar [Βαλτζαρ], a nobody by birth and practically nameless but extremely effective in battle and in the waging of war."

The chronicler goes on: "Therefore he [Tyrach] dispatched a company with orders to seize and destroy him. But Kegenes got wind of the plan and fled to the marshes of the Borystenon, escaping death. From his hiding-place there he sent secret messages to his relations and tribe, whereby he was able to divert the affections of his tribe (Belemarnes) away from the king and also the affections of another tribe, the Pagourmanes. He raised an army, with two tribes, confronted Tyrach who had eleven.... [Κεγένης] wandering in the marshes he realised that the only way to safety for him and those with him was to take refuge in the Empire of the Romans. So he came to Dorostolon and installed himself with his followers (who numbered about twenty thousand) on a little island in the river to avoid being taken by surprise. Then he reported to the governor of the region, Michael, son of Anastasius, letting him know who he was, what adventures had befallen him before arriving there and that he wished to transfer his allegiance to the Emperor... Michael passed this message on to the Emperor and was hastily ordered to accept the man and his followers, to provide these with necessary provisions and to send him to Byzantium with every mark of respect. The governor did as he was commanded: Kegenes came to the capital where he was generously received in audience by the Emperor. Kegenes promising to accept baptism himself and to persuade his followers to do likewise, he was raised to the dignity of patrician; he received three of the fortresses standing on the banks of the river of Ister and many acres of land. Finally he was inscribed among the friends and allies of the Romans. Then Euthymios, a devout monk, was sent to administer the sacred bath by the Ister river, giving them all holy baptism."

Some information about the baptismal ceremony concerning Kegenes can be found in the letter mentioned above written by Michael Pselos on behalf of the emperor Monomachos to the already converted Kegenes (see *ГИБИ*, 6, 122-123): "...When I read your letter, my heart rejoiced about the inexpressible beauty and sharp wit, as well as of the various rhetorical skills. The Sunday after the celebration of the first Apostles was designated a day for the ceremony..." We can only guess how this probably illiterate barbarian managed to impress Michael Pselos with his letter ("with sharp wit and various rhetorical skills"), an intellectual and complete aesthete. We also know from this letter that the holiday of St. Peter and Paul was defined as a day for the baptismal ceremony (June 29th 1048). This ceremony ought to be performed by the Patriarch and the emperor himself was chosen to be godfather.

"...Once he [Kegenes] was safe and secured against unexpected attacks he turned his attention to warding off the enemy. He would cross the Danube now with a thousand, now with two thousand men, sometimes more, sometimes less and spring surprise attacks, inflicting serious damage on the Pechenegs who were with Tyrach. Tyrach... sent a delegation to the Emperor insisting that a great emperor who had treaties with the Pechenegs people should not in the least receive one their rebels; and if he did receive one, he should certainly prevent him from crossing the river to despoil his allies.

The emperor sent out letters to Michael, the governor of the cities along the river of Ister, and to Kegenes in person [ordering] a strict guard on the banks of the river. Should any powerful force arrive, they were to advise him by letter so that some of the western regular troops could be sent to join with them in preventing the Pechenegs from crossing the river. He also sent a hundred triers with orders to cruise the river and intercept any Pechenegs attempting to traverse the Ister... The autumn was drawing to a close and winter about to begin [of 1048], the sun being in Capricorn, when a very strong wind blew from the north and the river froze to a depth of fifteen cubits. All guard-duties were relaxed and Tyrach seized the opportunity for which he prayed: he crossed the river Ister with all the Pechenegs, eighty hundred thousand in number they say. A letter was sent to the Emperor asking for aid as quickly as possible; before he had ready the whole letter, he wrote to the duke of Adrianoupolis, the magistros Constantine Arianites, to take his forces, and also to the governor of Bulgaria, Basil Monachos, to take the Bulgar regiment, to come and join Michael and Kegenes and with them to fight against the Pechenegs. They did as the imperial directive required, bringing all their forces together. Kegenes took [command of] the Roman legions, set up camp in open country and day by day made sudden

sorties which greatly harmed the Pechenegs. They were taken ill with stomach trouble because of their insatiable greed as well and they were degraded because the winter exhausted them. As a result of attacks by surprise, Tyrach surrendered together with all his people (Skylitzes-Wortley, p. 243).

"...And so Kegenes advised and testified that they ought to kill all grown men and told them a proverb which barbarian though it be, has something in it: One should kill the snake while it is still winter and it cannot move its tail; This advice did not commend itself to the leaders of the Romans; they thought it was barbaric and impious act, unworthy of Roman benevolence. They meant it could be more useful if the Pechenegs were to be settled down in different places and to impose them with taxes. And if the emperor needed troops against the Turks or other foreign tribes, he had to prepare them for war against the enemy. Many words were said but finally the opinion of the Byzantines prevailed. Then Kegenes killed all enemies captured by him, except those he sold, and then he returned to his country. Basil Monachos, the governor of Bulgaria took the tens of thousands of Pechenegs and settled them on the plains of Serdica, Nisos and Eutzapolis [Ovche pole]. They were all well spread out and completely stripped of weapons to guard against uprisings. As for Tyrach and his hundred and forty followers, these were brought to the Emperor who received them benevolently, had them baptised, awarded them highest honours and entertained them in luxury" (Skylitzes-Wortley, p. 244).

Following the narrative of Skylitzes, we knew the next events concerning Kegenes: The sultan of the Seljuks prepared for war against the Byzantines. "...Forewarned of this, Monomachos exerted himself to present a warlike resistance with his own forces: he also armed fifteen thousand of the Pechenegs in Constantinople to command them: Soutzoun, Selte, Karaman and Kataleim. These he then showered with gifts, provided them with first-rate weapons and excellent horses then shipped them over to Chrysopolis. He gave them the patrician Constantine Hadrobalanos as a guide to lead them to Iberia. They crossed over [the Bosphorus], mounted their horses and took the road to the east. When they had advanced a few miles they came near to a place Damatrui where they came to a halt and, standing there in the road, held a conference which in their tongue they call a *komenton*". After stormy discussions they came back and crossed over the sea one way or another and returned to their relatives in Triaditza. They sent messages to the Pechenegs who lived in other places and joined them after they armed themselves with available weapons. Soon after that they arrived in Philippoupolis and *via* Haemus they reached the plain of the Danube and camped there along the river called Osmon. Selte alone rested in Lobitzos (Lovech). Meanwhile Arianites straightway organized the Macedonian army and went after them (Skylitzes-Wortley, 244-245).

This chronicle and other ones have reported that the Pechenegs settled in the so-called Hundred Mountains (Stohulmie) north of the Balkan Mountains and they became a constant threat for the Empire.

We return to the narrative of John Skylitzes and find out that the Emperor called up Kegenes for a council in the capital city. He recalled immediately and together with his army camped out in the field of Maita. But before meeting the Emperor, he became a victim of a plot organised by three Pechenegs who attacked him at night and wounded him by swords though not fatally. The body-guards who detected them immediately; they made some feeble resistance and ran off but they were captured when several men together with Baltzar, son of Kegenes, came running at the cries for help. In the morning Baltzar placed his father in a four-wheeled carriage, dragging the conspirators behind the carriage in chains. He dare not do any more than that to them as they were appealing to the Emperor. Then with the whole army on horseback except him and his brother Goulinos on foot, following the carriage drawn by two horses, he came to the Emperor. When they arrived at the Hippodrome they stopped the carriage there while Baltzar went to the Emperor. When he was introduced to the presence, the Emperor asked him why he did not punish his father's murders right away. "Because they were invoking your name" the other replied, at which the Emperor began to have some very dark suspicions. Quick as a flash he had the prisoners brought before them and put the question to them: Why had they undertaken to kill the Patrician? "Because he was evilly disposed towards your reign and to the city; he was intending to enter the city at dawn, to slaughter everybody in it, pillage the

city and return to the Pechenegs." He ought to have examined these statements to find out the truth but that is not what he did; he put his faith in some irresponsible and inconsistent accusations. Under pretence of getting Kegenes healed and restored he brought him into the capital and confined him in the Elephantinê [prison], locating his sons each in a different place some distance from him. The rest of the Pechenegs he entertained with food and drink under pretence of being well disposed towards them but in fact doing everything in his power to deprive them of weapons and horses and to hold them in fortresses (Skylitzes-Wortley, 244-245).

The Pechenegs people became aware of these actions... when night fell and nobody was suspecting anything, they left the camp and travelled all without stopping. On the third day they crossed the Haemus and were united with the main body of Pechenegs (Skylitzes-Wortley, 244-245).

John Skylitzes and other chroniclers from this time reported the unsuccessful attempts of the empire to deal with the Pechenegs. After being defeated near Yambol and soon after that again near the Hundred Hills, the emperor signed a thirty-year peace treaty with the Pechenegs. Together with his people Tyrach returned to their tribe from Constantinople where he was a hostage. However, the peace was not durable. In 1050 the Byzantines were again defeated under the walls of Adrianoupolis. It was necessary that urgent measures had to be taken on behalf of the empire.

"Searching to stiffen his resistance to the Pechenegs, the Emperor brought Kegenes out of prison and sent him to them and winning their support for the Emperor... Kegenes set out and despatched a delegation to the Pechenegs who promised him oaths to do whatever he wanted. Trusting their oaths, he went to them and was promptly murdered and cut up into small pieces" (Skylitzes-Wortley, 250-251).

Thus this chieftain of Pechenegs ended his life.

The main question provoked by the quoted information and the presence of a seal of John Kegenes, a magistros and archon of Patzinakias, is: can we judge the two persons, one from the chronicle and the second from the seal, as identical?

The text and image of the seal make this possibility very acceptable. On the obverse St. John the Baptist is presented. The Christian and pagan names of this newly converted nomad, archon of Patzinakias, are inscribed on the reverse. All this completely coincides with the evidence concerning Kegenes.

It is necessary to emphasize that the text quoted above from the chronicle shows that Kegenes rather often sent and received messages from the emperor and other dignitaries. The only fact which does not coincide with the information of the chroniclers and the text of the seal is that Kegenes was a patrikios during the period between 1048, when he had been accepted as a friend and ally of the Byzantines, and 1049, the year of his imprisonment. John Kegenes from the seal was a magistros. If Kegenes from the seal and Kegenes from the chronicles were one and the same person, then probably in this rank he was appointed in 1050, when he was the only opportunity the Byzantines to oppose the Pechenegs by their fellow-countrymen. We also know from the seal that he was not only nominated magistros but he was appointed archon of Patzinakias as well, i.e. independent ruler of all Pechenegs settled on the territory of the empire as "friends and allies of the Byzantines". Probably this was the reason for his atrocious murder. As it was written above, after signing the thirty-year peace treaty between the Pechenegs and the empire, Tyrach returned to his people in the capacity of supreme chieftain called by the Byzantines "tzar" (basilleus). But by the promotion of Kegenes to the rank of archon of Patzinakias, Tyrach was practically dethroned and the empire directly interfered the internal affairs of the Pechenegs. This was another reason for the brutal murder of Kegenes.

As was outlined above, the first molybdo bull was found in Silistra and hence it affixed the correspondence of John Kegenes, magistros and archon of Patzinakias, to an unknown addressee in Dristra during the period of 1050-1051. Who was this addressee? We do not possess concrete information about the situation in Dristra. Either the city was still in the possession of the Byzantines, or the chieftains of the Pechenegs known from a later period sojourned there. Considering the fact that some seals which belonged to *katepanoi* of Paradunavon (for instance Demetrios Katakalon, Theodore Pegonites etc.) from this time and a little later are known, it could be assumed that Dristra was a Byzantine fort post. Probably Kegenes wrote to the governor

of Dristra and it is possible that the latter was still the patrikios Michael, son of the logotetes Anastasios, whom Kegenes contacted for the first time in 1047. Now, with his letters from 1050-1051 John Kegenes probably coordinated his further actions for neutralizing the enemy. But fortune had predestined him for a different fate, as was written above.

Naturally, at the end of our analysis, we have to assume another possibility that John Kegenes, magistros and archon of Patzinakias, could be one of the sons or grandchildren of Kegenes employed by the Byzantines. It is known that one of the sons of Kegenes was Baltzar (named as his grandfather) and the other one was Goulinos. It is possible that there was a third son or some other descendant of theirs. In Byzantium there was a practice that when employed, a foreigner founded a new clan and his name, usually the pagan one, became a patronym of his descendants.

60. Παφλαγονίας

According to some researchers, this theme was established on November 11th, 826 but according to others, this happened in 842. It was situated in Asia Minor on the coast of Black Sea and this was the reason for the simultaneous existence of a navy and a land army. Its neighbours were Armeniakon, Charsianon and Bucellarian.

Bibliography: Pertusi, *De tem.*, 136-137; Ahrweiler, *Le Mer*, 110-111; Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 349; Gregoriou-Ioanidou, 42.28.

60.1 Ῥωμανός πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Παφλαγονίας (XIth century)

Museum of History, Dobrich, no. I 1279. Bought in Silistra. D. 25-27 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 2 mm. Incomplete imprint. This concerns especially the reverse, on which whole fields are not imprinted. A fragment is cut or broken. Perhaps the blank was damaged. But all this did not impede the reading.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 19. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding medallion of the Child Christ before her. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ. Along border of dots circular inscription: ΘΚΕ.....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.ΡΩΜΑ | .Α'ΣΠΑΘ' | .ΣΤΡΑΤ' | .ΠΑΦΛΑ | ΓΟΝ..

+Θ(εοτό)κε [βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ] Ῥωμα[ν(ῷ)] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ)] στρατ(η)[γ(ῷ)] Παφλαγον[ία(ς)]

61. Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος

61.1 Λέων Νικερίτης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος (last quarter of the XIth century)

In a private collection, offered for sale to the National Museum of History, Sofia. Found in the region of Burgas. D. 22-24 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ. | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ. | ΚΑΙΑΝ. | ΓΡΑΦ..

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΠΕΛΟ | ΠΟΝΝΗ.. | .ΕΛΛΑΔ | ΤΩΝΙΚΕ | ΡΙΤΗ

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] Λέοντι [(πρωτο)]προέδρ[ω] καὶ ἀν[α]γραφ[εῖ]

Πελοποννή[σου (καὶ)] Ἑλλάδ(ος) τῷ Νικερίτῃ

The owner of the seal was Leo Nikerites. From the narrative sources and sphragistic monuments that have reached us, Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, no. 99) suggests the following cursus honorum:

a) βεστάρχης (1070s);

b) πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s);

c) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου (1080s);

d) in 1087 he was at the emperor's disposal during the negotiations with the Pechenegs;

e) [κουροπαλάτης] καὶ δοῦξ Παραδουνάβου (1091);

f) πρωτονοβελλίσσιμος (1103);

g) πρωτονοβελλίσσιμος καὶ μέγας δοῦξ καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Κύπρος (after 1103);

h) πρωτονοβελλίσσιμος (1103);

i) commander of the garrison in Dever during the war against the Normans in 1108;

j) commander of an advanced guard during the war against the Seljuks in 1116.

Since he was an eunuch, he was not honoured with the rank of sebastos and probably completed his career as protonobelissimos.

In spite of the abundant information about this person, his position of πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος is unknown. It is too close to that presented by the seals of πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου. This position could be assumed as just one referred to by the author of the *Life* of St. Meletios: Λέων Νικερίτης πραιτὼρ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Πελοποννήσου.

It is interesting that in the region of Burgas where he had stayed according to the information of the narrative sources, even though during a later period, at least two molybdebulls featuring Leo Nikerites in different periods of his career have been found as βεστάρχης (unpublished seals from the Museum of History in Shoumen and here as πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος).

62. Πλίσκοβα

The former first Bulgarian capital. The city preserved its importance as a large administrative and military centre after the transfer of the capital to Preslav, as well as in the years of Byzantine domination. On the territory of Pliska more than 70 Byzantine seals have been discovered, most of which date to the time of Byzantine domination. One is impressed by the fact that many of them were owned by catepanoi, strategoi, kleisourarchoi and taxiarchoi, i.e. by rulers of larger or smaller provincial military-administrative units or of military units which were stationed in the provenances. It is quite natural that they wrote to their local colleague. The seal presented below helps us identify one of these rulers of Pliska.

Bibliography: Йорданов, Плиска, 281-302; Йорданов, Монетите и печатите от Плиска, 135-167.

62.1 Φιλόθεος Φραγκοπούλος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσотρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγὸς Πλίσκοβα (XIth century)

Museum of History, Shoumen. Found by a treasure hunter with a metal detector on the territory of medieval Pliska. D. 26-27 (25) 4 mm. W. 10.50 g. Well centered but incomplete imprint. The end letters are erased.

The surface of the molybdebull is perfectly preserved.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael facing, wears imperial vestments; holds a scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: ..|| X-A-Λ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΦΗΛ'ΘΕΟ | Α'ΣΠ'ΘΑΡΙΕ | Π'Τ8ΧΓΚ | Λ'Ν"ΣCΤΡ | Τ'Γ' ΠΛΚΑ | Τ'Φ'Ρ'Κ'
+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Φηλ(ο)θέο (πρωτο)σπ(α)θαρί(ω) ἐπ(ι) τοῦ Χρ(υσοτρι)γκλ(ί)ν(ου)
(καὶ) στρ(α)τ(η)γ(ῷ)] Πλ(ίσ)κ(οβ)α τ(ῷ) Φρ(αγ)κ(οπούλ)ω

All letters of seal text are well preserved. The problem is how to decipher the abbreviations which are evidently more than usual. The engraver probably found it hard to contain this large text on the comparatively small space of the seal and he was forced to make frequent abbreviations. It is difficult to read the toponym composed by four letters: ΠΛΚΑ. I have decided that this toponym hides the name of Πλ(σ)κα or Πλ(ίσ)κ(οβ)α, as it is in the Byzantine sources. The only Bulgarian source which mentioned the name of the old capital (the Chatalar column) writes ΠΛΣΚΑ (on its etymology and orthography see Бешевлиев, *Първобългарски надписи*, с. 217).

In another group of seals, the toponym ΠΕΡΔCRA = Περδσ(λά)βα(ς) is written in a similar way (see no. 63.6).

No details are known about the person of this strategos of Pliska. The Francopouloi family betrays Western provenance.

63. Πρεσθλάβας - Πρεσθλαβίτζας

A. Πρεσθλάβας

This medieval city was situated south of the present city which has the same name. The information about its establishment are legendary and, naturally, they are inconsistent. According to Pseudo-Kodin, Preslav, similarly to Dristra and Constantia, was founded by Emperor Constantine the Great (306-337). Anna Comnena asserted that Preslav was a Hellenic city named Megaloupolis and its name was changed after it was seized by the Bulgarian Khan Krum (803-814). In the Bulgarian apocrypha the origin of Πρεσθλάβας is related to the time and affairs of Tzar Symeon I (893-927).

The importance and role of Preslav in medieval Bulgaria is attested by the narrative sources of its contemporary writers, as well as by the finds unearthed during archaeological excavations.

The medieval settlement of Preslav was established during the VIIIth-IXth century. Before being nominated as capital city of Bulgaria, it was a strategic stronghold where the ichergou-boil, one of the first assistants of the ruler, had resided. There were warehouses for heavy armaments (chain-armours and cuirasses) in the city enough for about one third of the Bulgarian army and a large garrison was stationed there.

The city was proclaimed as capital in 893. The Russians captured it in 969. In the spring of 971 (21st April) it was seized by the Byzantines. During the period of 971-986 the city was named Ioanoupolis, as it was a centre of a strategeia so called and was often united with its neighbours Dorostorum and Thrace (see here nos. 34.15-19; 38.3-4).

In 986 the city was liberated by the Bulgarians but in 1000 it was recaptured from the Byzantines and its former name was restored. At the time of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom Preslav was an important economic and administrative centre. It was conquered by the Turks in 1388.

Some information about this city can be found in the narratives of the following authors from the XIth century which is the time of dating of the seals bearing the toponym Πρεσθλάβας - Πρεσθλαβίτζας:

John Skilitzes, *Historiarum compendium* (after 1057)

The name of Preslav is reported in connection with the following events:

1000: The Byzantine army took the Great and the Little Preslav (τὴν μεγάλην Περσθλάβαν καὶ τὴν μικράν) (see **Scylitzae**, 343.85-344.86; *ГИБИ*, 6, c. 280).

1053: "The Pechenegs built a rampart around the Great Preslav (τὴν μεγάλην Περσθλάβαν [Πρεσθλάβαν in a manuscript ABV and Πρεσθλάβαν in U]), See **Scylitzae**, 475.22; *ГИБИ*, 6, c. 324.

Michael Ataliat, *Historia* (after 1079)

1053: [concerning Michael Akolutes] "he spent all day near the Great Preslav (τὴν μεγάλην Πραισθλάβαν)". See **Μιχαήλ Αταλιαντ**, *История- ГИБИ*, 6, c. 170.

Anna Comnena, *Alexiade* (after 1138)

1087: during the campaign of the Byzantine emperor against the Pechenegs in Dristra, she reported several times the name of Preslav: Before starting a crucial battle, Palaeologus and Maurokatakalon advised the emperor: "we have to set off for the Great Prislava (τὴν μεγάλην Πρισθλάβαν)... and we could have the best fortified stronghold of Great Prislava (τὴν μεγάλην Πρισθλάβαν). This glorious city has not been named before with a barbarian name but it has been named with the Greek name Megalipolis. When the Bulgarian basileus Mokros and his descendants... started to attack the West, the city was given a compound name consisting of a Greek word for "great" (μεγάλη) and the Slavonic Prislava. Thus it started to be named in all sources Megalis (the Great) Prislava μεγάλην Πρισθλάβαν." (see **Алексуада**, 62-63).

John Zonaras, *Historia* (XIIth century)

In 1000: "With the help of his commanders he took the Great and the Little Preslav (τὴν μεγάλην Περσθλάβαν καὶ τὴν μικράν)" (see **Зонара**, 181-182).

Niketas Choniates, *Historia* (after 1206)

1185: It concerns the brothers Assen and Peter after their rebellion: "... They set off for Preslav (Πρισθλάβαν) [this was a very old city built of baked bricks and most of it was surrounded by the Haemus mountain]" (see **Никита Хониат**, *История- ГИБИ*, 9, c. 27).

Idrissi, *Geography* (XIIth century)

"And among the cities of Romania (Barasklafissa, Megali Barasklafa)..."

"Between Batarni (Petrin) and Burfantu a river is located running from Barasklafa (Sklafa)".

"It takes a day's trip from Burfantu (Provadia) to the city of Megali Barasklafa (Great Preslav). The last mentioned is a middling city densely populated. There is a river of average size near to the city which flows from Barasklafa."

"It takes a day from Megali Barasklafa to the city of Varbysius (Vurbitza)" (see **Недков**, *Идриси*, c. 69).

The Byzantine chronicles from the second half of the XIth century added the epithet μέγας meaning "Great" to the name instead to the noun "city". Therefore the name of the city was the Great Preslav.

For the first time this name was used by John Skylitzes about events in 971 but this happened a hundred years later: "...And he camped out near to the city of Great Preslav (τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης Περσθλάβαν)". In this case "Great" is not typical of the noun "city" but it is part of the name of the city and thus some reiteration appeared between the two components of the name - a great and glorious city.

How we can explain this fact? The mentioned epithet was not always obligatory even in the narrative of Skilitzes but as a whole it was adopted by the other chroniclers of the XIth century. We found it also inscribed on seals of the strategos of the city, protospatharios Andronicus Ducas. The reiteration obviously perplexed Anna Komnena, an erudite, who knew very well the meaning of "Glorious" or "Great", so as to explain (out of place) the name of the city and the reasons for adding the epithet "megali" (μέγας).

What was the reason for adding the epithet "μέγας"? After studying the development of titles and positions in Byzantium during the XIth century, we can ascertain that almost all of them have added the epithet μέγας: μέγας δομέστικός; μέγας δρουγγάριος; μέγας κουράτωρ; μέγας λογοθέτης; μέγας πριμικήριος; μέγας σακελλάριος, etc. and this concerns also the church hierarchy. The usual indication for the big cities and especially for the capital was μεγαλόπολις (see **Tivcev**, P. Sur les cites byzantines aux XI^e-XII^e siècles.- *Byzantinobulgarica*, I, 1962, p. 149).

Probably in this sense the name of the city of Preslav (a big city, the former capital of the Bulgarians) had been augmented with the epithet μέγας. It is obvious that μεγαλόπολις, used by Anna Komnena when she reported some events in the capital or other big city, is connected with μεγάλη πόλις, the Hellenic name of Preslav according to the same author.

Megali Barasklava equivalent to μεγάλης Περσθλάβαν was mentioned in the Arabian sources (of them only the *Geography* of al-Idrissi is available) which probably had used Byzantine sources.

B. Περσθλαβίτζας

Retracing the documentary sources with the name of Preslav during the centuries, we remembered subconsciously or openly the name of another medieval Bulgarian city known in the literature as Preslavetz, the Little Preslav or Preslavitz. Over the last hundred years the location of this city has been discussed (not so much the time of its existence) but quite often the names and the location of the two cities were confounded. In these discussions two problems could be outlined: its location and existence. To solve these two problems we have to return to the original sources.

The name of Preslavetz, the Little Preslav or Preslavitz is reported in the following sources:

The *Russian Primary Chronicle*, XI c. "Повесть временных лет" have mentioned the name Pereyaslavetz, Pereyaslav, etc. but it is often stressed that it is a synonym of Preslav.

About 6508, indict 13, John Skylitzes wrote: "the Emperor sent a large and powerful force against the Bulgarian encampments beyond the Haemus range, under the command of the patrician Theodorokanos and protospatharios Nikephoros Xiphias. Great and the Little Preslav (τὴν μεγάλην Περσθλάβαν καὶ τὴν μικράν) were taken; Pliska too; then the Roman army returned, triumphant and intact. In the following year the Emperor set out against Bulgaria, this time through Thessalonica. Dobromir, governor of Berroea (who was married to a niece of Samuel) joined the Emperor's ranks and surrendered his town, for which he was honoured with the title of anthypatos." (*ГИБИ*, 6, 280-281; **Skylitzes-Wortley**, 184-185)

In the *Epitome historiarum* of John Zonaras this passage is shortened, as it is expected: "He captured the Great and the Little Preslav with the help of generals, as well as Pliska. Berroea was handed over to the emperor by Dobromir who deserted to the Byzantines." (ГИБИ, 7, с. 187)

In the Old Bulgarian translation of John Zonaras the passage concerning Preslav is omitted and only the following is reported: "Then he captured the big and glorious Iberia and the small one. Their governor Dobromir himself surrendered to the tzar." (СБЛ, 3, с. 230)

It is difficult to explain this confusion. Perhaps it is due to some technical mistake in the original or to the inadequate qualifications of the translator. Another possible reason is also that this settlement with these varieties of its name was already unknown.

An annalist's note annexed to the Old Bulgarian translation of the chronicle of Constantine Manasses concerning the years between 1000 and 1018 indicated: "Then Tzar Basil routed Samuel, the Tzar of the Bulgarians... and seized Budin and Pliska, as well as the Great and the Little Preslav".

We do not know what concrete sources Skylitzes used for this period but we have the information of Leo the Deacon, a participant in the campaign of 971 when this region was conquered. Nowhere did he report a city with such a name.

John Skylitzes himself described these events in a similar manner. He did not report either a city or a settlement named Little Preslav during all military campaigns in northeastern Bulgaria. And immediately, in 1000 "he seized the Great and the Little Preslav with the help of generals, as well as Pliska." The passage, quoted above, from the history of Skylitzes was a subject of discussions related mainly to the scope of the Byzantine conquest in 1000. The omission of the name Dristra gave some researchers grounds to assume that the offensive stopped at Preslav and its surroundings, and Dristra was not seized by the Bulgarians.

On the basis of his analysis of the names "the Great and the Little Preslav", P. Diaconu accepts that the Little Preslav (Preslavetz) was situated near to the Great Preslav but not along the Danube River. He also suggests that it could be located in the medieval stronghold near to the present village of Khan Krum (see Diaconu, Autour, 44-49).

Simultaneously, we have to remember that John Skylitzes was a well informed writer and if he reported the conquest of the Great and of the Little Preslav in 1000, then this information can not be ignored. But it is difficult to determine what exactly this means. Since other sources did not make a similar distinction and did not note this toponym, the following hypotheses could be proposed:

The toponym of "Little Preslav" is related to the citadel of Preslav which towered above all the city, and it was called by Leo the Deacon "the palace of the Tzar" and by Skylitzes "a fortress within the palaces". It accommodated seven or eight thousand "Scythes". The toponym of Great Preslav refers to the outside of the city which covered a territory of over three thousand and five hundred decares.

The situation with the stronghold Mundraga and the city of Dristra was similar (about their location see Бешевлиев, *Първобългарски*, 198-200).

The *Geography* of al-Idrissi also provided some information about such a city. "Via the steppe it takes four days [of trip] from Dristra to the city of Barasklafisa in the East [Barasklafisa, Barasklafsa or Br(I)sklaf(I)sa) according to the latest reading of Prof. Irfan Shahid, see Oikonomides, *Presthlavitz*, p. 6, n. 23-24.] This city is situated along a river near Havuza... It takes four days from Barasklafisa to the city of Dissina [Machin] in the East" (see Недков, *Идриси*, с. 79). In the quoted review the city of Barasklafisa is identified as Preslavetz or the Little Preslav (see Недков, *Идриси*, 134-135).

The latest commentary of these maps and attempts for locating the mentioned settlements contain a hypothesis that probably Megali Barasklafisa and Barasklafisa were one and the same city, and that it was wrongly plotted on the maps of al-Idrissi twice in two different sections. Similar mistakes were made with the presentation of Constantinople and Adrianopolis (see Кендерова, С., Б. Бешевлиев, *Балканският полуостров, изобразен в картите на ал-Идриси*, С., 1990, с. 76).

A third kind of sources are various maps from the XVth-XVIth centuries (see the bibliographical review of Кузев, *За имената*, с. 62):

a) Some sea charts (from the XVth-XVIth centuries) put the name of Proslavica or Proslaviza at the delta of the Danube but in others, especially these from the XIVth century, this name is

missing. According to the opinion of Al. Kuzev, this settlement probably was not commercially important and interesting for the Italian sailors in the Black Sea, all the more so since that the settlement was situated far from the sea.

b) The name of Proslauiza is noted on a number of maps from the XVIth-XVIIth centuries. For instance, the maps of Merkator (within a map edited in Duisburg on 13th March 1589), as well as the maps of Jakoppo Castaldo from 1584 and these of Hulsius Levinus from 1630, presented Proslauiza as a big, well fortified city similar to Drestor, Kilia, Kilia Nouva, Bialigrod and Varna.

Although the locating of the settlement is not possible in every case, as well as its dating to a great extent is impossible (what raises suspicions whether this settlement was the one considered or it was the former capital city of Preslav), a settlement named Proslaviza is located at the delta of Danube during the XVIth-XVIIth century. However, it is difficult to identify this settlement with our Preslavetz or the Little Preslav from the Xth century. According to P. Diaconu, this settlement could be related to the settling of the Russian Old Believers in the early 17th century (Diaconu, Autour, p. 39).

Seals bearing the toponym Πραισθλάβας or Πραισθλάβιτζας:

A. στρατηγός:

1. 'Αέτιος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Περσθλαβίτζας [ΠΕΡΘΛΑΡΙΤΖΑC; ΠΕΡΘΛ'Ρ'], see here no. 63.1.

2. 'Ανδρόνικος Δούκας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός τῆς μεγάλης Πραισθλάβας or Πραισθλαβίτζας [ΤΗC Μ ΠΡΑΙCΘΛΑΡ'], see here no. 63.2.

3. 'Ιωάννης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Περσκλάβας [ΠΕΡCΚΛΑΡΑ'], see here no. 63.3.

4. 'Ιωάννης Μαλέας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Περσθλαβίτζας [ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ'], see here no. 63.4.

5. 'Ιωάννης Μαλέσης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας [ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡΙΤΖΑC], see here no. 63.5.

6. Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγός Περδσλάβας [ΠΕΡΔCΡΑ], see here no. 63.6.

7. Λέων Πηγονίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας [ΠΡΕCΘΡΙΤΖ], see here no. 63.7.

8. Μαλέσιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας [ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡΙΤΖ'], presented by a specimen of the Hermitage collection (M-6096). See Йорданов, *Преславица*, № 7.

9. Μελίας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας [ΠΡΕCΘΛ'Ρ'], see here no. 63.9.

10. Μάλις πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσκλαβίτζας [ΠΡΕCΚΛΑΡΙΤΖΑC], see here no. 63.8.

B. κομμερκιάριος:

11. Εὐστράτιος Ῥωμανιάκης σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Περσθλαβίτζας [ΠΕΡCΘΛΑΡΤΑC], presented by two specimens from the collections of DO 47.2.2128 and Fogg A. M., no. 1750. See Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 78.1.

12. 'Ιωάννης κομμερκιάριος Περσθλαβίτζας [ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ'ΤΗC], presented by a single specimen from the collection of DO. 47.2.137. See Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 78.2.

13. Σέργιος χαρτουλάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Πρεσθλαβίτζας [ΠΡΕCΘΛ'ΤΑC], presented by two specimens from the collections of Fogg A.M., no. 860, and Zacos, II. See Zacos, *Seals*, II, no. 1043; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 78.3.

While in the documentary sources (historical writings, chronicles, annals) which have survived in different translations we have ascertained some confusions and even in many cases Preslav is confounded with and replaced by Preslavitz, the seals are reliable evidence because they were official means of administration.

The following versions of the toponym are present on the thirteen groups of seals, nos:

1. ΠΕΡΘΛΑΡΙΤΖΑC, ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ'; 2. ΤΗC Μ ΠΡΑΙCΘΛΑΡ'; 3. ΠΕΡCΚΛΑΡΑ'; 4. ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ'; 5. ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡΙΤΖΑC; 6. ΠΕΡΔCΡΑ; 7. ΠΡΕCΘΡΙΤΖ; 8. ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡΙΤΖ'; 9. ΠΡΕCΘΛ'Ρ'; 10. ΠΡΕCΚΛΑΡΙΤΖΑC; 11. ΠΕΡCΘΛΑΡΤΑC; 12. ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ'ΤΗC; 13. ΠΡΕCΘΛ'ΤΑC.

Comparing them, we can draw some conclusions about the toponym. It could be surely defined that the toponym ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡ is inscribed only in two cases - no. 3 and no. 6 [ΠΕΡCΚΛΑΡΑ' ΠΕΡΔCΡΑ']. It could be assumed that the same toponym is briefly inscribed in

nos. 1b, 2, 4 and 9 [ΠΕΡΘΛ'Ρ'; ΤΗC Μ ΠΡΑΙCΘΛΑΡ'; ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ'; ΠΡΕCΘΛ'Ρ']. But in these cases it is also possible that the inscribed toponym is ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC.

The toponym ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC is certainly inscribed in eight cases: nos. 1a, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11-13.

The balance sheet is in ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC's favour. The seals of the commerciaris are related to this toponym too. If the documents issued by the strategos's chancellery had been signed with the toponym ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC, then it really existed.

What was this administrative centre? Undoubtedly it was connected with the toponym ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡΑC. In preceding publications (including ours) of the seals bearing the toponym ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC and belonging to Byzantine provincial officials, the suffix ITΖΑC was assumed as a diminutive form of the toponym ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΡΑC - ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC and hence it referred to another settlement equivalent to Preslavetz or the Little Preslav.

Now, in the light of the conclusions drawn above, that there is reliable information for attesting the existence of another medieval Bulgarian settlement named Preslavetz or the Little Preslav, we could suggest that, much as it is illogical, that the toponyms ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΑC and ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC were an identical settlement, the former Bulgarian capital. What was the reason for this change?

P. Diaconu has assumed that the suffix ITΖΑC in Greek means feminine gender of Slavonic toponyms which is reasonable because in Bulgarian the gender of Preslav is masculine but in Greek it is feminine (see P. Diaconu. De nouveau a propos de Presthlavitzia.- *Südost Forschungen*, 46, 1987, 290-291).

But then a question arises: why in other cases, those of Byzantine authors and several seals, is the name of Preslav transcribed as ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΑC? This question can not be satisfactorily and positively answered.

As a last hypothesis we can propose that the chronicles followed an established model without entering into the grammatical sense of the name of the city, while the engraver of the seals (or the owner) was hampered when he came across the name of the city because he was supposed to transcribe and translate it into Greek. Concerning the first two groups of seals, which are chronologically earlier (these of John and Constantine Karantinos), the name of Preslav is transcribed by the following letters and abbreviations: ΠΕΡCΚΛΑΡΑ' = Περσκλάβας; ΠΕΡΔCΡΑ = Περδσλάβας and finally ΠΡΕCΘΛΑΒΙΤΖΑC, inscribed whole or abbreviated.

We can also confirm the existence of the two toponyms which we mentioned above. If we accept that the two toponyms related to one and the same settlement, the second Bulgarian capital, then some discrepancies crop up about the preceding interpretation of the seals. The list enclosed above consisting of the seals of strategoi of Preslav and Preslavitzia creates the impression that the seals which belonged to strategoi of Preslavitzia found in Preslav are more numerous than those of Preslav and the situation presented in the literature is similar. And, secondly, some persons were simultaneously strategoi of Preslav and of Preslavitzia, as Aetios was one of them. Since they were strategoi of Preslav, others (for instance, Leo Pegonites) had sojourned in the strategeia of Preslav and there is some evidence for this. All this evidence tips the scales in favour of the identity of Preslav and Preslavitzia.

In this situation we have to correct and complete the list of known officials in Preslav from the Xth-XIth centuries, i.e. all titularies presented by the sphragistic material considered here. Therefore the seals bearing these toponyms found in Bulgaria are unified and presented below by alphabetical order of their homonyms.

63.1 Ἀέτιος πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Περσθλαβίτζας (first quarter of the XIth century)

A.

- Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 19220. D. 23-24 (22?) 2.5 mm. W. 5.95 g. Good imprint but with later damage.
- Museum of History, Dobrich. Found in the area of the medieval settlement near the village of Kladentzi, district of Dobrich (according to the latest information of our colleague G. Atanasov from Silistra, the seal was found in Silistra and legalised in Kladentzi). D. 20-22 mm; field 21.5 mm; thickness 3 mm. Weak imprint and badly preserved specimen.

The two specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 304; b: Йорданов, *Преславица*, № 3-4.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield in l. hand (too close to the next representation of St. Theodore and the arrangement of the letters of his name is the same).

Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-Ω-ΡΟ-С

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

- ✠ - |+ΑΕΤΗ | Ο'Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCTΑPTIΓ' | ΠΕΡΘΛΑ | RITZA | C | - ✠ -
+ Ἀέτιο(ς) (πρωτο)σπαθ(ᾶριος) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ὸς) Περ(σ)θλαβίτζας

B.

a. Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Shoumen, no. 17208. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav.

b. In a private collection. Find-spot: the Sliven region. D. 23-23 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 3 mm. Well centered imprint but too light. Well preserved molybdo-bull.

c. In a private collection (Emil Kossev from Shoumen). We documented it on March 4th, 1997 before it was sold. Probably found in Preslav. D. 25-25 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. Well centered imprint but too light. Well-preserved molybdo-bull.

The three specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 305; b: Йорданов, *Преславица*, № 1-2; c: Unpublished.

Parallels: in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 2284, another specimen is preserved which is struck with the same die (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 69.1).

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore as above, but struck with a different die. Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-Ω-ΡΟ-С

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- ✠ - |+ΑΕΤΙΟ | Α'CΠΑΘ'SC | ΤΡΑΤ'ΠΕ | ΡCΘΛ'Ρ | - ✠ -
+ Ἀέτιο(ς) (πρωτο)σπαθ(ᾶριος) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγὸς) Περσθλ(α)β(ίτζας)

The publishers of the specimen from the Fogg A. M. collection have assumed that the toponym ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ' means Περσθλάβας.

The next two specimens are badly imprinted and preserved which makes difficult their reading and identification with the two groups presented above.

C.

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 26851. D. 28-28 (22) 4 mm. W. 15.20 g. The blank is rather thick.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 306.

No parallels known.

Obv. Scarcely visible bust of St. Theodore, as above. Vertical inscription:||Δ-Ω-ΡΟ -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- ✠ - |Α.Τ. | Α'CΠΑΘ' | | ΠΡΕC... | R...
'Α[έ]τ[ηο(ς)] (πρωτο)σπαθ(ᾶριος) [(καὶ) στρατηγ(ὸς)] Πρεσ[θλα]β[ίτζα(ς)]

D.

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 26851. Deformed molybdo-bull bent in two.

Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 307.

No parallels known.

Obv. Visible is half of the bust of St. Theodore, as above. Vertical inscription in two columns:

..... ||Δ-.- ΡΟ - .

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+Α.Τ. | Α'CΠ.. | SCTΡΑ... | .ΟΝ... | .ΛΑ..
+Ἀ[ε]τ[ηο(ς)] (πρωτο)σπ[αθ(ᾶριος)] (καὶ) στρα[τηγ(ὸς)] τ]ὸν [Πρε(σ)θ]λα[β(ί)τ(ζας)]

The attribution of these two seals to the governors of Preslavitzia is conditional and this especially concerns the last specimen. Nevertheless they are too close to the first two groups.

63.2 Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγάλης Πραισθλάβας or Πραισθλάβιτζας (1030s-1040s)

- Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22909. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 22-23 (22) 3 mm. W. 9.90 g. Incomplete and weak imprint. A small portion of the blank is broken.

b. Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 88. Found in Pliska during archaeological excavations in 1930 under the supervision of K. Myatev. D. 25-25 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 2.8 mm. Incomplete imprint. The initial letters of almost all lines of the text on the reverse are out of the blank. Well-preserved molybdo-bul.

c. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 28079. Found in the warehouse of the archaeological excavations in the southwestern corner of the inner city of Preslav in May 1991. A fragment (about a quarter of an originally good imprint). D. 14-20 (of the seal itself over 20) mm.

d. Private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-25 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. The initial letters of almost all lines of the text on the reverse are out of the blank. Well-preserved molybdo-bul.

All four specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a: *Йорданов, Преслав*, № 303; b: *Йорданов, Плиска*, № 1; c-d: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ- || Δ - ...

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a) | .ΝΑΡΟΝ | . ΣΠΑΘ'Σ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | . . ΣΜΠΡ | . . ΛΑΡ'Ω | . 8Κ'

b) | .ΝΑΡΟΝ | Α'ΣΠΑΘ'Σ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | Τ. ΣΜΠΡΕ | ΣΘΛΑΡ' | Δ8Κ'

c) | | | ΤΙΓ' | ΠΡΕ | Ρ'Ω |

d) | .ΝΑΡΟ | Δ'ΣΠΑΘ' | ΣΤΡΑΤ | ΤΗΣΜΠ | ΘΛΑΡ' | Δ8

a-d: [Α]νδρόν(ικος) (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ός) τῆς μ(ε)γ(άλ)ης

Πρεσθλάβ(ας) ὁ Δούκ(ας)

In our preceding publication we presented an analysis of the person of this dignitary and the son of the caesar John Ducas, Andronicus, was preferred among the known representatives of the Ducas from the XIth century during an earlier period of his career.

Now, in the light of new evidence about Preslav and Preslavitz, an earlier dating is possible and it could be related to Andronicus Ducas, the father of the future emperor Constantine X (see *Polemis, Doukai*, no. 11). The common patron, St. Theodore, depicted on the seals of the titularies of Preslavitz, to be has also rethought (see here no. 63.1,2,5,7,9). One of the generals who took part in the campaign of Roman III Argyros in Syria during 1020, named ibn Ducas, is reported by the eastern chroniclers (see *Felix, Islam*, S. 86, A. 132).

63.3 Ἰωάννης β' πρωτοσπαθ(άριος) καὶ στρατηγός Περσκλάβας (Xth-XIth centuries)

a-g. Find-spot: Preslav.

h. National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 11137. Found in 1997 on the river bank of the Danube near Silistra. Ed. a-g: *Йорданов, Преслав*, № 291-297; h: *Йорданов, Силистра*, II, № 6.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons arising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΙΩΡ'Α' | ΣΠΑΘ'ΚΕ | ΣΤΡΑΤΗ | ΓΟΠΕΡC | ΚΛΑΡ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Ἰω(άνν)η β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) κὲ στρατηγὸ Περσκλάβ(ας)

All eight specimens are struck with the same die. One is overstruck (no. 17559). Diameter of the newly struck field is 15 mm. Its description is the following:

Obv. Patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons arising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription: +ΚΕΡΟΘ'ΤΩC'Δ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

... | +RACH | Λ'ΔΟΜΕC | Τ. Τ8Δ |Δ

+Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) τῷ σ(ῷ) δούλ(ω) Βασηλ(είω) δομεστ[ικ(ω)] τοῦ Δ.....δ

63.4 Ἰωάννης Μαλέας πρωτοσπαθ(άριος) καὶ στρατηγός Περσθλάβας or Περσθλαβίτζας (first half of the XIth century)

a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 21552. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 24-25 (22) 3 mm. W. 8.80 g. Well-preserved molybdo-bul.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 28625. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 25-26 (22) 3 mm. Well-preserved molybdo-bul.

The two specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. *Йорданов, Преслав*, № 308-308a.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-NI-KO || ΛΑ-OC

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΙΩΑ'ΣΠΑΘ'Σ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | ΠΕΡCΘΛ'Ρ' | Τ.ΜΑΛΕ | -Α-

+Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Ἰω(άνν)η (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ῶ)

Περσθλ(ά)β(ας) τ[ῷ] Μαλέα

The problems of the preceding publication were related to the patronym. We have supposed that the available letters mean a wrongly written patronym Μαλέσης. Now, in the light of the new finds, when we have a titular named Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης bearing a different title, and the subject of iconography is different, as well as some supplementary data, we have to reconsider the problems once again.

There are two problems: the toponym and the patronym. In the light of the new configuration between Preslav and Preslavitz, i.e. their identification, the toponym could be as Περσθλάβας or Περσθλαβίτζας. The available letters ΜΑΛΕ|Α could be read as patronym Μαλέα but Μαλέα(νω) which is also possible.

In the unpublished collection of Zacos, consisting of family names, a seal is preserved (*Zacos*, III, no. 1496) which presents the following:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin.

Rev. |+ΙΩΑ|CΠΑΘ'Ω|ΜΑΛΕ|ΑC

In the collection of Dumbarton Oaks two specimens are preserved (DO 58.106.1198 and DO 58.106.4973) struck with the same die. Their description is as following:

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΩΠΡΩΤ | ΩΠΡΟΕΔΡ | ΟΤΟΜΑΛΗ | ΑΝΟ

Probably they reflect an earlier or later stage in the career of the strategos of Preslav or Preslavitz.

63.5 Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας (1030s-1040s)

Museum of History, Silistra, no. 87. Found on the bank of the Danube near Silistra by Al. Boev. D. 20-30 mm; field 24 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. A half from originally excellent imprint.

Ed. *Йорданов, Силистра*, IV, № 5.

No parallels known.

Obv. Busts of two military saints facing. St. Theodore (on l.) holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription above head: ΘΕΟΔΟΡ. Visible on r. is a portion of the nimbus, short curly hair and spear of another military saint, probably St. George, because his name is inscribed: Θ | Γ | Ε |

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...ΠΑ |CΤΡΑ |ΕCΘΛΑ | ...ΖΑCΟ | ..ΕCΙ

[+ Ἰω(άνν)η] πα[τρίκ(ιος) (καὶ)] στρα[τ(η)γ(ός)] Πρ[εσθ]λαβίτζας ὁ [Μα]λέσι(ς)

In the literature some other seals which belonged to this dignitary are known. Another specimen is found in the strategeia of Preslav having the same description as the one presented here but without a toponym which also specifies the career of this dignitary (see *Йорданов, Преслав*, № 359). He was a strategos of Preslavitz during the 1030s-1040s.

63.6 Κωνσταντῖνος Καρναντηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρίκλινου καὶ στρατηγὸς Περδολάβας (first quarter of the XIth century)

a-e. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav

f. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav. Found in the autumn of 1989 by Em. Kossev with a metal detector. An attempt for its legalization was done in Markele, near to Karnobat. D. 23.5-23.5 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 3.5 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

g. Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 24-25 mm. W. 11.00 g. Good imprint but damaged by a strike when found.

All seven specimens are struck with the same die.

Ed. a-e: **Йорданов, Преслав, № 298-302**; f-g: Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$. Circular inscription along border of dots: +ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔ8Α'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

$\overline{K\Omega N} \mid A' C\text{ΠA}\Theta' E \mid \text{ΠIT}\delta\chi' SC \mid \text{TPATIGO} \mid \text{ΠEPACRA} \mid \text{T}\omega\text{KAP}'\Delta'$
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κωνσταντίνω (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) ἐπὶ τοῦ
χρ(υσοτρίκλινου) (καὶ) στρατηγο Περδ(ολά)β(α)ς τῷ Καρ(αν)δ(ηνῷ)

63.7 Λέων Πηγονίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας (mid. XIth century)

a-b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

c. Preserved in Romania [MIRSR 48/15]. Prior to that it was in the former collection of Pericle Papahadj. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 25-27 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint because of striking off-center as well as slipping of the blank in the boulloterion. Well-preserved molybdo-bul.

d. Historical Museum, Shoumen. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-26 mm. Well-preserved molybdo-bul.

e. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13132. Found in Silistra. D. 17.9-20.5 mm; field 19 ? mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Blank too small for die, and the imprint itself is off-centered.

The four specimens are struck with the same die. The reverse of the fifth specimen is different, and we are not sure about the obverse, even though there are some different details. These differences could be due to some later damages or repairs of the boulloterion.

Ed. a-b: **Йорданов, Преслав, № 309-310**; c: **Banescu-Papahagi, Silistrie, no. 2**; d: Unpublished; e: **Йорданов, Силистра, I, № 10**.

Parallels: In the collections of the Hermitage (M-12178, see **Шандровская, Болгария, 461-462, рис. 8**) and Fogg A. M., no. 860 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, 1, no. 78.4**), two other specimens are preserved struck with the same die as our a-d.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

a-d: - * -|+ΚΕΡ'Θ'| ΤΩCΩΔ'| Λ'ΛΕΟΝΤ| Α'CΠAΘ'| - * -
e: - * -|+ΚΕΡ'. | ΤΩCΩΔ'| Λ'ΛΕΟΝΤ| Α'CΠAΘ'| - * -

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

a-d: - * -| SCTPA| T'ΠPΕCΘ'| RIT'TΩΠ| ΓONIT'| - * -
e: - * -| | ΕCΘΛA| RIT'TΩΠH| ΓONIT'| - * -
+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λ(ω) Λέοντ(ι) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῷ)
Πρεσθλαβίτζ(ας) τῷ Πηγονίτ(η)

Λέων Πηγονίτης is unknown from the narrative sources. But some other seals bearing the name of this person are known.

1. In the strategia of Preslav his other molybdo-bulls have been found in his capacity as πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (see **Йорданов, Преслав, № 369-371**). He resided in Preslav during the 1050s-1060s.

2. In the collections of Athens Museum of Numismatics (**Konstantopoulos, no. 684; Stavros, no. 210**); DO 58.106.3079 and Zacos, III, no. 1554, three molybdo-bulls are preserved. Their description is as follows:

1. +Ε|..ΗΘΕΙ|ΩCΩΔ8|ΛΩ - ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΑΤΩΠ|ΩΝΗ|ΤΗ
2. +ΚΕ|ΡΟΗΘ'|ΤΩCΩ|Δ8Α'- ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΑΤΟΝ|ΠΙΓΟΝ|ΙΤ'

3. +ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΙΤΩ|CΩΔΟΝ|Λ - ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΙΤΩΠ|ΓΟΝ|ΙΤ'

= +Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Λεοντι τῷ Πηγονίτη

They are dated generally to the second half of the XIth century.

3. In the collection of the Berlin Numismatic Cabinet, a molybdo-bul is preserved (see **Schlumberger, Sig., p. 692; Laurent, Bulles metriques, no. 498, 498a**). Its description is as follows:

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore Thyron and accompanying vertical inscription:

Θ|ΘΕ|ΟΔ|Ο'- Θ|ΤΗ|ΡΟ|Ν'

Rev. +|ΤΗΡΟΝ|CΚΕΠΟΙC|ΛΕΟΝΤΑ|ΤΟΝΠΗΓΑ|ΝΙΤΗΝ

= +Τήρον, σκέποις Λέοντα τὸν Πηγανίτην

It is dated to the last quarter of the XIth century.

4. In the collection of Shaw, no. 1247, a specimen is preserved with an inscription on the obverse and reverse: ΓΡΑΦΑ'|CΦΡΑΓ|ΖΩ-ΠΗΓΟ| ΝΙΤ8ΛΕ| ΟΝΤΟC. This specimen is dated to the last quarter of the XIth century as well. It is quite possible that these five groups of seals belonged to one and the same person who was a strategos of Preslavitza and sojourned in Preslav.

Who was Λέων Πηγονίτης? This name is unknown from the narrative sources. The other representatives of this family, of whom something is known, are few in number likewise. Famous is Niketas Pegonites who took part in the military campaigns of the empire against Bulgaria during the first quarter of the XIth century. In the period of 1065-1066, a certain Pegonites was governor of Edessa but his personal name was not reported (see **Арутюнова-Фиданян, Армяне, 140-141**).

We know the following persons from their seals:

1. Εἰρήνη Πηγονιτίσση μαγίστρισσα, βεστάρχισσα καὶ δούκαινα, the third quarter of the XIth century according to an unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1606:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin Orans without a medallion before her chest.

Rev. CHΔ8|..PHNHM|ICTPICC|. ΕCΤΑΡΧΙ|HSΔ8KA|NHTHPH|ITICH

2. Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης: πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1040s); πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω τὸν Παραδουνάβιτον (1050s-1060s); μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ Εδεσης before 1066 (see here no. 58.2).

3. Ἰωάννης Πηγονίτης στρατηγὸς Νικοπόλεως, second half of the XIth century according to an unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1728.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Theologian.

Rev. ἸΩCΤΡΑ|ΤΗΓΟCΝΙ|ΚΑΠΟΛΟΝ|..ΗΓΟΝ|ΙΤΗC

4. Καλοκυρὸς Πηγονίτης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου (see **Jordanov, Dobri dol, no. 11**).

5. Μιχαήλ Πηγονίτης, a private person from the second half of the XIth century, according to an unpublished seal from the Istanbul Museum collection, no. 11693.

Obv. Bust of a military saint.

Rev. CΤΡΑ|ΓΕΡΟΗ|ΜΙΧΑΗΛ|ΠΗΓ:ΑΝ|ΤΗΝ-

6. Νικήτας Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Λυρραχίου, about 1018 (see no. 25.1).

What the relation was between all these representatives of the Pegonites is impossible to answer categorically but suggestions are possible and they are welcome.

According to Bunescu, Leon Pegonites was a son of Niketas. Niketas and Theodore were contemporaries and they could be brothers because Leon was a son of one of them.

We have to determine whose wife Irene Pegonitissa was. Perhaps her husband was the unknown governor of Edessa from 1065-1066 but another possibility is open. It is well-known that the Pegonites were related to the Dukai. Irene Pegonitissa married John Ducas, the future caesar John Ducas (?-1088). Before that (in 1059) he was catepano of Edessa. His wife was Irene, the daughter of Niketas Pegonites, i.e. the sister of Leon Pegonites. It is possible that she was the very woman who is known from the seal of magistrissa, vestarchissa and doukaina presented above. It is well-known that in Byzantium when a wife belonged to a famous family, she was entitled to keep her maiden name after marriage.

63.8 Μάλις πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσκλαβίτζας (XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 21529. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 21-23.5 (21) 2 mm. W. 7.80 g.

Not very successful but well-preserved imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 312.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons arising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription: . . ΕΡΟΗΘΙΩCΩΔ..

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ OMA | ΛICA'CΠA | Θ'SCTPAT' | Π.ΕCΚ.. | .ITZ..

+ 'Ο Μάλις (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγός) Π[ρ]εσκ[λαβ]ίτζ[ας]

or + 'Ομάλις (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγός) Π[ρ]εσκ[λαβ]ίτζ[ας]

63.9 Μελίας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας (XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17046. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 25-26 (20) 4 mm. W. 16.00 g.

Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 311.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns .-Ε-Ο || Δ.-.ΡΟ-.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- - - | + ΜΕΛΙ | .Α'CΠAΘ' | .TPATIG | .PΕCΘA' | R'

+ Μελί[α(ς)] (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) [(καὶ) σ]τρατ(ηγός) [Π]ρεσθλ(ά)β(ας) or

[Π]ρεσθλ(ά)β(ί)τζας)

64. Πυλῶν

Pylai is identical with the modern Çifliköy close to Ialova (Pythia). As the head of one of the main routes into Asia Minor, it was used for imperial campaigns and it had its own hostel with well-defined landed properties and a xenodochos (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 123, 11-19; *SBS*, 2, 1990, 173-174; **Zakos**, *Seals*, II, p. 163; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no.68).

64.1 Δαμιανὸς β'βεστίτωρ καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν (last quarter of the IXth c.)

a. Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia. Found in Pliska during excavations in 1931-1937 in room B of a chain building north of the so-called Boyar's dwelling. D. 29-30 (?) 2.5 mm. The molybdenum is badly preserved, its surface is heavily damaged by corrosion and the letters are hardly visible. There is a missing fragment as well.

b. Museum of History, Shoumen. It has been offered for purchase by N. Nikolov from Razgrad. The information is that it was discovered in Preslav (?). D. 25.5-26 (24) 3.1 mm. W. 15.4 g. Remarkably well preserved imprint struck slightly off-centre.

Both specimens are imprinted with an identical boulloterion. Their comparison resulted in the reading below.

Ed. a: Йорданов, Плиска, № 15; b: unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: TΩ-CΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

a) - - - | + ΔAMIAN | R'ΡΕCΤIT . . | ΣΕΕΝΟΔΟ . | .ON . . ΛΟ . | - - -

b) - - - | + ΔAMIAN | R'ΡΕCΤITOP | ΣΕΕΝΟΔΟX | .ONΠVΛON | - - -

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δαμιαν(ῳ) β'βεστιτόρ(ι) (καὶ) ξενοδόχ(ω) [τ]ὸν

Πυλὸν

Who is Damianos β'βεστίτωρ καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν? If the dating of his seal (generally to the last quarter of the IXth century) and the discovery of the molybdenum in Pliska are taken into account, some connection might be sought with one of the correspondents of Patriarch Photius Δαμιανὸς ξενοδόχος. Three letters of the patriarch to Damianos dated to 859-867 have survived (see **Photius**, *Epistle*, nos. 109, 113, 195).

It is not possible to say to whom in Pliska Damianos β'βεστίτωρ καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν wrote but he could be one of the leaders of the newly built Bulgarian church, for instance the archbishop of Bulgaria George contacted about some matter of common interest.

65. 'Ραιδεστός

Raideostos (the present-day town of Tekirdach) was a port on the Marmara Sea in Turkey. As an important centre for corn export, it was known in the early XIth century but earlier it was also an administrative and ecclesiastical centre.

The name of this city is inscribed on a triumphal column in Pliska (see **Бешевлиев**, *Първобългарски*, № 22). Raideostos was captured by the Bulgarians in 813. During the Xth century it had an own archon and during the IXth-Xth centuries a dioketes and persons levying the trade taxes resided there (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 59.1-3). The city was also a bishopric of the diocese of Herakleia in Europe (see **Asdracha**, *Thrace*, 248, n. 133-134; 292-293).

65.1 Δαυὶδ β'πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ βασιλικὸς (?) 'Ραιδεστός (Xth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 27922. Found during archaeological excavations of the Palace Basilica in the inner city of Preslav, sq. 156, depth 0.60 m, on July 29th, 1989. D. 21-26 mm; field 18 mm; thickness 2.5 mm.

Incomplete imprint. The dies are imprinted only above the swelling of the cord channel.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Zakos**, *Seals*, II, no. 134 bis. Struck with the same boulloterion as our specimen and the same defect of imprinting.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription:.....Θ.ITΩ.....[+K(ύρι)ε βοή]θ[ε]ι τῷ [σῷ δούλῳ]

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

|.ΔAΔ | .A'CΠAΘ | ..R'T8P. | ΔΕCΤ.

[+Δα(υὶ)δ [β'] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ)] β(ασιλικῷ) τοῦ 'Ρ[ε]δεστ[οῦ]

In spite of the existence of two specimens, the reading is problematic. In the publication quoted above the following solution is suggested:

+ΔAΔ|R'A'CΠAΘ..|..ST8P..|ΔΕCΤ8

=+Δα(υὶ)δ β' (πρωτο)σπαθ[αρίῳ] (καὶ) τουρ([μάρχη]) 'Ρα[ι]δεστοῦ.

Werner Seibt who had the opportunity to examine the Preslav specimen concluded that it referred to the basilikos of Raidestou (**Seibt**, *Geographische Bulgariens*, no. 5) which seems likely.

66. 'Ρυνδάκος

There were a river and a city by this name. According to the Byzantine sources, they were situated between Phrygia and Hellespont (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 69).

66.1 Θεοφάνης καὶ διοικιτῆς τοῦ 'Ρυνδάκου καὶ τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν (XIth c.)

a. National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 13135. Bought in Silistra. Found by Al. Boev on the riverbank of the Danube. D. 20-20 mm. The specimen is too corroded.

b. In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain but probably the same as above. D. 18-20 mm. Incomplete imprint.

c. Of unknown provenance. An illustration of it is kept in the photoarchive of the Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia. Incomplete imprint, mostly on the reverse, where whole segments are missing.

The three specimens were struck with the same boulloterion.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen struck with the same boulloterion is preserved in the Warsaw National Museum collection (see **Szemioth-Wasilewski**, *Varsovie*, no. 45).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands raised before her. Along border of dots circular inscription:ΘΕΟΦΑΝ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

a) - - - | ΣΔ .. | KIT ... V . | TAK .. O . | A

- b) - ❖ - | SΔI8 | KIT'T8PVN | .AKSTON | . . TOA | - ? -
 c) - ❖ - | | KIT'T | TAKSTO. | ANT . .
 [+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοφάν[η] (καὶ) διουκίτ(η) τοῦ Ῥυντάκ(ου) (καὶ) τὸν Ἀν(α)τολ(ικῶν)

67. Σάμος

This was a maritime theme mentioned for the first time in 899. Besides the island with the same name, it included the Asia Minor littoral with the cities of Hadramatia, Smirna and Ephesos which later joined the Thrakesion theme. Initially the rulers of Σάμος were drungarioi and during the Xth-XIth centuries they were strategoi.

Bibliography: Скабалапович, Виз. государство, с. 206; Ahrweiler, *Le Mer*, 79-81, 99, 120-122, 132-134; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 352.

67.1 Θεοφυλακτος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμος (1030s-1040s)

- a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17550. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 22-27 (24) 4.5 mm. W. 22.25 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.
 b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 17552. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 26-26 (24) 4 mm. W. 19.50 g. Weak imprint and badly preserved specimen.
 The two specimens were struck with the same die.
 Ed. Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 313-314.
 Parallels: In the Dumbarton Oaks collection another specimen is preserved (DO 55.1.3050) struck with the same die (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 2, no. 44.13).

Obv. Bust of St. Zacharias bearded, wearing a luxurious chlamys and a curious oriental head-piece and holding (l. hand) a round decorated box, with a crosslet on top of its cover. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓI-O || Z-AX-AP ^-A

Rev. Inscription of five lines, preceded and followed by an ornament:

- ❖ - | ΘΕΟΦΥΛ' | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙ'Σ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ'CA | .8ΘΑΓΙΟ | ΖΑΧΑΡ' | - ❖ -
 Θεοφύλ(ακτος) πατρίκι(ος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ός) Σά[μ]ου ὁ Ἀγιοζαχαρ(ίτης)

In an auction at the Münz Zentrum, Köln, 100, 8-10 Sept. 1999, a group of seals was presented illustrated only on one side. Under no. 101 (?) is a seal belonging to Teophylaktos Hagiozacharites, patrikios. Evidently this involves the same person, but due to incomplete documentation we cannot ascertain whether he had the same office or was only a patrikios.

67.2 Χριστόδουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Σάμος (Xth-XIth c.)

- a. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22181. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 15-27 (23 ?) 2 mm. Badly preserved specimen. Half creased.
 b. Museum of History, Silistra, no. 30. Find-spot: somewhere in the city. D. 14-26 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. A half from originally good imprint.
 The two specimens were struck with the same boulloterion.
 Ed. a: Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 320; b: Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Elaborate cross, with a linear outline, standing on a straight bar; at its four ends, one big and two small pellets. On either side fleurons arise from the base. Along the border of dots: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) ΧΩΔ . . | Ρ'Α'СП . . | .CTPA . . | .ΩΤ . . | Μ . .
 b) . . Δ8Λ' | . . СПΑΘ' | . . ΤΡΑΤΗ | . . ΤΙCΑ | . .
 + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Χ(ριστ)ωδούλ(ω) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ)]
 στρατη[γ]ῷ τῷ(ς) Σάμ[ος]

68. Σελευκείας

At present this is the town of Selifke in Turkey near Antioch. This was a kleisoura established during the first half of the IXth century. It was turned into a theme from Roman I Lakapenes in 934 and kept this role during the XIth century (see Oikonomides, *Listes*, 350, n. 354).

68.1 Ἰωάννης ἀσηκρήτις καὶ κρητὴς Σελευκείας (Xth-XIth centuries)

In a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). The specimen has been given to me before being offered for sale. Uncertain find-spot. D. 22.5-25 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 4 mm. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael half turned to l., seems to hold Christ; scepter over r. shoulder and an uncertain inscription: M-I-X-A or N-I-K-A. on his l. side. Remains from circular (?) inscription.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΙΩ | .CHKPI | .ICSKPH | .HCΕΛΕV | ΚΕΙΑC
 +Ἰω(άννη) [ἀ]σηκρη[τ]ις (καὶ) κρη[τ]ῆ Σελευκείας

69. Σεβαστείας

This church seat was situated in what is today Gavraz some 3 kms east of Sivas. Metropolitanate of Armenia Prima. It was represented at the first ecumenical council in Nicaea in 325. The number of its bishoprics reached five. Its importance was reduced in the XIth century due to the conquests of the Seldjuks. The Metropolitanate disappeared as a chair in the late XIIIth century but the title was passed on to Moldova and was reduced to the rank of bishopric. It existed there between 1327 and 1439 (see Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, 300-301).

69.1 Θεόδωτος μητροπολίτης Σεβαστείας (XIth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-24 (22) 3 mm. Incomplete and unclear imprint.
 Ed. Мухомов, *Печати*, № 33; Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 412.
 No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ in her left arm. Sigla: ΜΡ || ..

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΘΚΕR | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΘΕΟΔΟΤ' | ΜΡΟΠΟΛ' | CΕRAC | TIAC
 + Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θει τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Θεοδότ(ω) μ(ητ)ροπολ(ίτη) Σεβαστ(ε)ίας

Theodotos is unknown among the metropolitans of Σεβαστείας from the Xth-XIth century. The seal is dated to the second half of the XIth century.

70. Σεβάστις

Today ruins between Selcükler and Sivasli (which preserves the name), it was a suffragan bishopric of Laodikeia of Phrygia, mentioned in all notitae from the VIIth until XIIIth century (Darroutzes, *Notitae*, 1.322, 2.385, 3.405, 4.341, 7.391, 9.273, 10.326, 13.322). Its first known bishop attended the fourth ecumenical council of Chalcedon in 451 (Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 3, p. 49).

70.1 Λέοντι Σεβάστις (XIth century)

Private collection. I have examined it in the Museum of History in Bourgas thanks to the courtesy of my colleague I. Karayotov. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Melnitza. D. 16-17 (14) mm. A full and well preserved specimen. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand), both resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η || -Η-Τ-Ρ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕR'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ | ΤΗCΕRΑ | CΤΗC
 +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντι τῇ(ς) Σεβάστ(ε)ς

The collection of Dumbarton Oaks keeps a copy of the seal, on whose both sides is written:

Obv. + | ΓΡΑΦ. | CΦΡΑΓ. | ΖΩ
Rev. ΛΕΟΝ | Τ'ΤΗCCE | RACTI | C

It is evident that these are seals of one and the same person. While commenting on the text of the seal, its publishers (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 33.1) hesitated between two possibilities: whether Leon is τοῦ [ἀνθρώπου] τῆς σεβαστῆς or he is a prelate (bishop) of Σεβάστης. At the end of the day, they chose the second possibility, which at this stage I accept too.

Still, one may ask: who was the addressee of the bishop of Σεβάστης, who lived or resided in the fortress near the village of Melnitza, region of Elchovo.

71. Σεβεριάδος

Today's Sibora situated east of Tersili Hamam in Turkey. It should probably be identified with Sibori in the Charsianon theme. The name of this bishopric first appears in the diocese lists after the Xth century and disappeared with the demise of the Komnenoi dynasty in the late XIIth century. According to Fr. Laurent, Σεβερτιάδος was a bishopric of the Caesarea metropolitanate in Cappadocia (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 176).

71.1 Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος Σεβερτιάδος (Xth-XIth centuries)

a. Museum of History, Silistra, no. 38. Originates from the same city. D. 24-24.5 (19) 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The form of the blank was triangular. The molybdebull itself has a badly preserved surface and is cut with a sharp object.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 18967. D. 30-30 (20?) 4 mm.

c. Privately owned (collection of Prof. T. Gerasimov, plaster imprint). It is written on the back that the original is from the collection of Dr. V. Haralanov from Shoumen and that he bought it in Silistra. D. 27-28 (20?) mm. The three specimens were struck with the same boulloterion.

Ed. a: Йорданов, Силистра, II, № 4; b: Йорданов, Преслав, № 394; c: Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Gregory dressed as a bishop, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Along border of dots circular inscription: +ΑΓΙΕ.....ΠΙΕΡΟΗ...

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ΓΡΗΓ | ΟΡ'ΕΠΙΣΚ | ΟΠ'ΕΥΕΡ | ΙΑΔΟΣ

+Ἄγιε [Γρηγό]ριε βοή[θει] Γρηγο[ρί]ω ἐπισκόπ[ω] Σεβερτιάδος

Only one other seal of this bishopric of Βασίλειος ἐπίσκοπος Σεβερτιάδος has been published, dated to the Xth-XIth century (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 252).

The discovery in Preslav and Dristra of three molybdebulls which were affixed in the past to the correspondence of the bishop of Severiadon Gregory to anonymous addressees confirms his contacts with these lands. He may have written to his relatives who were in government service in these cities or to local prelates.

72. Σέρραι

It is located along the bank of the Strymon River at the present city of Serres, main city of the Strymon theme. In the beginning it was a bishopric subordinated to the metropolitan of Thessalonica, later it became an archbishopric and in the late Xth century it was already a metropolitanate.

Bibliography: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 595; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, p. 109.

72.1 Κωνσταντῖνος μητροπολίτης Σερρών (Xth century)

Museum of History, Radnevo. It was unearthed in the "Lozjata" area north of the "Gradishteto" fortress near the village of Polski Gradetz, region of Nova Zagora. D. 18-24 mm. About half of a previously good imprint. This makes the reading difficult.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of a military saint, holding a spear (r. hand). Remains of a vertical inscription:

Θ-ΘΕ-Ο ||

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

..NMH | ..ΟΠΟΛ | ... CCE | * . ΩΝ *

[Κω]ν(σταντῖνος) μη[τρ]οπολ[ίτης] Σε[ρ]ρῶν

73. Στρυμῶνος

The earliest mention of a strategos of the Strymon occurs in the Kletorologion of Philotheos (899; see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 101.25), but it appears he existed at an earlier date, since we know of seals of strategy of Strymon stemming already from the middle of the IXth century, according to which it is likely that the thema Strymon was set up in the fourth decade of the XIth century. See *De Them.*, 166-167, **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, p. 104.

73.1 Λύκαστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Στρυμῶνος (Xth century)

In a private collection. Findspot: uncertain. D. 131-26 mm. Half of an excellent seal. Unpublished.

Parallels: **Laurent**, *Sceaux inédits*, 350-351, no. 12. Struck with the same boulloterion as our specimen.

Obv. Portion of the patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Along border of dots circular inscription:CΩΔΟΛΑ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ Λ | CTΩ... | ΠΑΘ' S... | ΑΤΗΓ' C... | VMΩN

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ] σῶ δούλ(ω) Λ[υκά]στῳ [β'(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίω) (καὶ)]

στ[ρ]ατηγ(ῶ) Σ[τρ]υμῶν(ος)

74. Σωζοπόλεος

Sozopolis (ancient Apollonia, modern Sozopol in Bulgaria) is a port on the Black Sea. The name of the city was already mentioned in Chericole and plays an important part in the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations. Its importance grew especially during the IXth century when it became a border city and various Byzantine military-administrative offices resided in it which are only evidenced by sphragistic monuments:

a) *tourmarchos of Sozopolis (820s-840s)*

The city of Sozopolis and its adjacent territory belonged to the Thrace theme founded in 679-680 as a barrier against the Bulgarians on their way toward the capital Constantinople. After the Bulgarian expansion southward in 811-813 and the Bulgarian-Byzantine peace treaty in 815-816 some changes took place in the administration and defense of the Byzantine territories.

When the Bulgarian-Byzantine border was moved to the south, the hitherto functioning Byzantine military-administrative and fiscal offices remained on Bulgarian territory. It became necessary to create new offices or transfer the old ones to Byzantine territory. After the takeover of Messembria, Anchialos and Devet where garrisons were stationed, there was no other Byzantine outpost as far as Adrianoupolis which was a main city of another key Byzantine theme, Macedonia. So, in this part of the empire the only city of the Thrace theme was Sozopolis. There are real grounds to assume that after the events described above Sozopolis was named as a residence of the Byzantine tourmarchos with all consequences which his presence here brought. This is proven by the seal of the tourmarchos of Sozopolis kept in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 55.1.1305, see **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2643; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 79.1).

b) *kleisourarches of Sozopolis (840s-850s)*

What has predetermined the establishment of the kleisourarches of Sozopolis? The reasons which were valid for the setting up of the Sozopolis tourma applies in this case and the kleisourarches should be considered as an elevation in the rank of military-administrative office which was located in the city. This was probably due to the new Bulgarian expansion in the 840s. In order to withstand this danger, the Byzantine authorities founded the kleisoura of Sozopolis.

Aside from these inferences, what makes us think that a kleisourarches resided in Sozopolis in the 840s? It is a fact which has been known for a long time (as early as the late IXth century) but it has never been linked to Sozopolis on the Black Sea. The Uspenski Taktikon dated to 842-843 mentions in 113 place ὁ κλεισουράρχης Σωζοπόλεως. In the original manuscript Codex Hierosolymitanus Sancti Sepulcri, no. 39, f. 194r-195t, dated to the XIIth-XIIIth centuries, the name is written as Σωζωπο, filled out by Beneshevich-Uspenski as Σωζοπόλεως (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, U 55.6, p. 54, n. 35).

The name of this kleisoura has so far been interpreted in different ways. According to Ferluga, its existence was rather problematic because no other source confirms it (see **Ferluga**, *Nize jedinice*, p. 81). Beneshevich thought that it referred to Sozopolis in Pisidia (see **Beneshevich**, *Ranglisten*, S. 156). Honigmann suggested a correction in the reading Σωζόπετρα. The latter is a new kleisourarches which appeared at that time (**Honigmann**, *Die Ostgrenze*, S. 52). Oikonomides offers that last interpretation for the time being. He rejects the view of Beneshevich as regards Sozopolis in Pisidia because it was then too far away from the border to be a kleisoura and he preferred the reading Σελεύκεια. According to him, the latter was known to be a kleisoura in the early IXth century and it was not represented in the Taktikon of Uspenski (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, U 55.6, p. 54, n. 35).

The objection of Oikonomides that Sozopolis in Pisidia near Antioch is well within the interior of the empire to be a kleisoura is justified. But it does not entitle one to correct a reality. It is written in the document and should be read as Σοζοπόλεος. Some other possibility should be sought and the fact that a kleisourarches of Sozopolis existed in a Taktikon of 842-843 should be coupled with a settlement which meets the requirements for such a military-administrative unit.

A brilliant proof of this reasoning is the seal of a kleisourarches of Sozopolis published recently (see below).

c) protokentarchos of Sozopolis (IXth-Xth centuries)

It was already mentioned that Sozopolis is a port. It was home of part of the Byzantine fleet. This is proven by the unpublished seal of Leon, protokentarchos of Sozopolis, kept in the collection of IFEB, 551 (5/1 32f).

Obv. Unclear bust of a nimbed saint.

Rev. ΛΕ. | Α'ΚΕΝΤΑ | ΡΧ'CoZo | .οΛΕΟ

Λέ[ων] (πρωτο)κένταρχ(ος) Σοζο[π]όλεο(ς)

Bibliography: Йорданов, И. Византийски военно-административни учреждения в Созопол през IX в. - Юбилеен сборник в чест на проф. Д. Овчаров, Велико Търново, 2002, 77-83.

74.1 Κωνσταντῖνος β'σπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουριάρχης Σωζοπόλεως (second quarter of the IXth century)

In a private collection (Dr. D. Theodoridis from Munich). It probably originates from the commerciaria of Develtos. D. 27-27 (26) mm. A complete and brilliantly preserved imprint. Still, the ends of some letters are cut or they have remained outside the blank.

Ed. Wassiliou-Kyriaki, *Neue Siegel*, Abb. 2. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1). In the quarters: ΤΩ-ΘΩ || Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΩNC | TANT'B'CP' | ΘΑ'Κ'ΚΑΙCΩV | ΡΙΑ'COZO | ΠΩΛΕ'

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κωνταντ(ίνῳ) β'σπ(α)θα(ρίῳ) κ(αὶ) κλ(ε)ισουριάρ(χη)
Σοζοπόλε(ως)

The kleisourarches of Sozopolis existed until 852 when the so-called "deep peace" was signed and some cities and fortresses were returned to Byzantium, including Messembria and Anchialos. The residence of the kleisourarches was transferred precisely to Messembria (see about this at no. 47.1-4). In other words, Byzantium extended out its frontier post from Sozopolis to Messembria which offered tactical and strategic advances. It was a general practice in Byzantine tactics and strategy along the Black Sea coast to move residences of various military-administrative units from one city to the other depending on the political situation, for instance from Messembria to Anchialos and *vice versa*.

74.2 Ν., ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σ.....ολιτων (IXth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 137. Find-spot: uncertain. Incomplete and badly preserved imprint.

Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of an unidentified saint.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | ΤΩCΩΔ | ΟΝΛ'ΑΓ.ΑC | ...ΑΡΧ.. | .ΚΟΠΩC.. | ..ΛΙΤΩΝ

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ) Ἀγ(ε)[λ]ασ[ίῳ] ἀρχ(ιε)[πίσ]κόπῳ Σ[ωζοπ]ολιτων

75. Τραπεζοῦντος

Trebizond on the Asia Minor coast of the Black Sea (modern Trabzon). Originally it was a bishopric and later was elevated to the rank of a metropolitanate. The exact date of this event is still disputed. Some consider the year to be 787 while others insist that it took place during the reign of Basil I (867-886). The metropolitanate of Trebizond continues to exist today (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, 495-495).

75.1 Φωτεινός ἐπίσκοπος Τραπεζοῦντος (IXth century)

Institute and Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 135. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-28 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Unpublished. No parallels known.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.1).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ | .ΩΤΙΝΩ | .ΠΙCΚΟΠΩ | ΤΡΑΠΕ | ΖΟV

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει [Φ]ωτ(ε)ινῷ [ἐ]πισκόπῳ Τραπεζοῦ(ντος)

The dating of the seal hardly exceeds the mid-IXth century which means that the promotion into a metropolitanate was done during the rule of Basil I.

76. Τριαδίτης

Modern Sofia, ancient Serdica (Σαρδική) was a bishopric, first attested in 1020, which was subordinate to the archbishopric of Bulgaria (see **Laurent**, *Corpus* V.2, 331-332 and **Darrouzes**, *Notitiae*, no. 13, line 837).

76.1 Νικήτας ἐπίσκοπος Τριαδίτης (XIth-XIIth centuries)

Museum of History, Shoumen. Find-spot: uncertain. Large blank with a diameter of 41.5-41.5 mm and a large swelling of the channel for the cord. There is a blocked or welded iron wire in the channel. About one third of the blank is broken or cut. Using the same boulloterion, four imprints have been struck on the blank. Two of them feature on half of it and two others are on the other half of the blank but in different directions. The imprints are incomplete and overlap. The text published below is compiled from comparisons of the four. The diameter of every single imprint is 18 mm.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 1504; **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 661; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, nos. 70.2a-b. Imprint from different boulloteria. The three specimens originate from Constantinople and one is from Jerusalem.

Obv. St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield put on ground. Inscription in two columns: .-ΓΕ-Ω-.. ||

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines above the decoration:

|ΤΟΝΤΡΙΑ |ΔΗΤΖΗCΝΙ | ΚΗΤΑΝΜΑΡ | ΤVCCΚΕ | ΠΟΙC

Τὸν Τριαδίτης Νικήταν Μάρτυς σκέποις

Niketas is unknown from the narrative sources. The only evidence about him comes from his seals. According to their iconography and the paleography of the text, they should be dated to the late XIth or the early XIIth century.

He was engaged in a very active correspondence because his molybdo bulls are found in Constantinople, Jerusalem and now uncertain places in Bulgaria. Of course, the greatest mystery is the reimprinting of this large blank. Taking its size into account, it could be connected with the patriarchal office, i.e. Nicetas, bishop of Triaditza, struck four imprints on a blank of the patriarchal office (two by two in contrary directions) as far as his boulloterion could reach. Why he did so is not known.

77. Φιλιππουπόλεως

There is no direct information when exactly the strategeia of Philippoupolis was established, as well as when the Byzantines conquered the city, before their invasion in northeastern Bulgaria or afterwards. But it is known that John I Tzimisce resettled Paulicians there to defend the border in the war against the Bulgarians. At the same time the name Φιλιππουπόλεως is lacking in the Escorial Tactic (?-975) which raises various suggestions about its status.

Probably the city of Philippoupolis was a centre of a small military and administrative unit with the same name, subordinate to the strategos of Macedonia and respectively to the duke of Adrianoupolis.

The name of the city was again reported in the chronicles in connection with the campaign of Basil II against Serdica in 986. The magistros Leon Melissinos stayed there to protect the rear of the Byzantine army. Like him, the patrikios Theodorokanos sojourned in this fort post of the empire against Bulgaria after 1000 but, as we know from other sphragistic materials, in his capacity as duke of Adrianoupolis. He was replaced in 1003 by the patrikios Nikephoros Xiphya, former and perhaps present strategos of Thrace and Ioanupoleos.

In general, during the whole of the empire against Bulgaria (971-1018) Philippoupolis was a starting point of the Byzantines for their offensive and defence. After the conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, the importance of this city decreased because the vulnerable points of the empire were elsewhere.

It became again an outpost of the empire at the time of the invasions of various nomadic tribes and the Crusades. From the time of Alexius I Komnenos (1081-1118) it was a centre of the same named theme, katepanate and dukedom. The city maintained its role as a big administrative and military centre during the XIIth-XIIIth century when its role was important, considering the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantium and the Latin Empire.

In 1090-1091 the protopredros Gregory Kourkous was doux of Philippoupolis (see here no. 77.2).

According to Anna Komnena (*Alexiade*, II, 155.5) in 1091 George Mesopotamites was doux of Philippoupolis.

The rulers of Philippoupolis which follow below are known from sphragistic sources:

1. Λέων ὀρειάριος Φιλιππουπόλεως (IXth-Xth century, see *Zacos*, *Seals*, II, no. 206).
2. Κωνσταντῖνος Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως (Xth-XIth centuries), see below.
3. Ν., κριτὴς Φιλιππουπόλεως (second half of the XIth century, see *Laurent*, *Orghidan*, no. 239).
4. Ἀργυρὸς Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως see below.
- 5-7. Ν., ἐκ προσώπου Μώρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως (see here no. 52.1).

Plovdiv is an old Christian centre and a metropolitanate as early as the IVth century. It has existed during the whole Middle Ages and up to now. Patron of the city is St. Philip the Deacon. Depending on who took over the city, Byzantium or Bulgaria, a Byzantine or Bulgarian metropolitanate resided in it.

Bibliography: Ἀποστολίδου, Κ. Μ. Ἡ τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως ἱστορία ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιότατων μεχρὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος, Αθηνάς, 1959; Βλάχος, Θ. Ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν περίοδον, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1972; Γρηγορίου-Ιωαννίδου, 66.90, 68; *Laurent*, *Corpus*, I, 518-519; *Jordanov*, Plovdiv, 111-135; *Василева-Данчева*, А. Пловдив през средновековието (IV-XIV в.), С., 2001 (автореферат).

77.1 Κωνσταντῖνος Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως (Xth-XIth century)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 2395. Found during archaeological excavations in the palace of Preslav in 1927 but it is related to the strategeia of Preslav. D. 21-25 (19) 3 mm. W. 8.00 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

Ed. *Йорданов*, *Преслав*, № 321.

Parallels: *Schlumberger*, *Sig.*, p. 115, no. 1. Struck with the same boulloterion.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from the base. Along border of dots, the remains of a circular inscription:ΩΔ8Α...CTA'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

R' A' C Π A | . S C T P A | . I Γ ' Φ Η Λ . | Π Ο Π ' Ω . | Τ Ρ Ο C

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(θ)ει τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω] [Κων]στα(ντίνω) β'(πρωτο)σπα[θ(άριος)] (καὶ) στρα[τιγ(ός) Φηλ[η]ποπ(όλεως) ὦ [Πέ]τρος

77.2 Ἀργυρὸς Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως (1092-1095)

a. Museum of History, Pazardjik, no. 505. There is no exact information where the specimen was found. In 1959 Prof. T. Gerassimov made a plaster cast, on which he wrote that the find-spot was Pazardjik. Nowadays the seal is preserved in the exposition of the National Museum of History, Sofia. D. 24-25 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 3 mm. Whole imprint but badly preserved molybdenum with broken fragment. The surface is covered with lead oxide.

b. Museum of History, Stara Zagora, no. 4839. Found in the land of the village of Dobri dol, district of Plovdiv. D. 18-20 mm; field 23 ? mm; thickness 3 mm. Blank too small for die. Some of the letters are badly preserved. The two specimens are struck with the same boulloterion.

Ed. *Jordanov*, Plovdiv, nos 6-7.

Parallels: *Laurent*, V. Argyros Karatzas protocuropalat si due de Philipopolis, *Revista istorica*, 29, 1934, 203-210.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

a) +| ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Α' | ΑΡΓΙΡΟΝ | . 8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤ'

b) | ΚΕΡΟΗ . | ΤΩCΩΔ8 . | ΑΡΓΙΡΟ . | Κ8ΡΟΠ . | . . .

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) Δ8ΚΑ . | ΙΙΠ8ΠΟ | ΛΕΟCΤΟΝ | ΚΑΡΑ . Α | -N-

b) | . ΛΙΠ8Π . | . ΕΟCΤΟΝ | . ΑΡΑΤΑ | -N-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(θ)ει τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω Ἀργιρὸν (πρωτο)κουροπαλάτην (καὶ) δοῦκα [Φ]ιλιππουπόλεως τὸν Καρατζᾶν

A dignitary with the same name is reported several times in the *Alexiad* (see *Skoulatos*, *Personnages*, no. 17).

His name was mentioned for the first time in the summer of 1087. Before the battle against the Pechenegs near Dristra, Emperor Alexius I Komnenos put some Ouzas and Karatzes in command of τῶν ἐθνικῶ [Οὐζᾶς καὶ Καρατζᾶς] (see *Alexiade*, II, p. 97.15).

In 1092 he was entrusted with a delicate mission (Anna Komnena continues with her narrative): "...On his [the emperor] arrival soon after at Philippoupolis, he received a written message from the then archbishop of Bulgaria who gave him advice about his nephew John, the sebastocrator Isaac's son, doux of Dyrrachion... The emperor undertook emergent measures: he sent for the officer who was great heteriarch at the time, Argyrus Karatzes, a Scyth by birth [μέγαν ἐταιρειάρχην Ἀργυρὸν τὸν Καρατζᾶν, Σκύθη] but a man of wisdom, a lover of virtue and truth, and to him he entrusted two letters. One addressed to John, read follows: Having learnt of the hostile movement of barbarians through the passes, I, your emperor, have left the city of Constantinople to ensure the frontiers of the Roman Empire. You are required to come in person to render account of province under your government. The second, to be delivered to the magistrates of the city of Dyrrachion, ran thus: "Since we have learnt that Bolkan is again plotting against us, ... we deemed it necessary to summon your favourite duke, the beloved nephew of your emperor. We have therefore sent this envoy who will deliver to you this letter and have promoted him to the rank of duke. You should receive him and in every way obey his commands". And, by word of mouth, the emperor ordered to Karatzes to set off for Dyrrachion and to hand over the first letter to John. If he should obey of his free will, he should be sent away with peace and then Karatzes could assume the defence of the region until he could return back. If not, Karadga should call the leaders of Dyrrachion and they should help him to catch John." (see *Alexiade*, II, 148; *Алексиада*, *ГИБИ*, 8, 94-95)

Further on, Anna Komnena wrote that the sebastocrator Isaac arrived in Philippoupolis and their family council reviewed the work of John Komnenos. Since he was not accused of disloyalty, he returned back to Dyrrachion (see *Алексиада*, *ГИБИ*, 8, 95-97).

The very fact that Argyrus Karatzas was sent to Dyrrachion and his interference in the affairs of the Komnenoi attests to the confidence of the emperor in him. This is proven not only

by the delicacy of his mission but also by the fact that Alexius I Komnenos used to appoint only representatives of the imperial family as rulers of Dyrrachion such as George Palaeologus, John Ducas, John Komnenos, etc.

The name of Argyrus Karatzas was reported for the last time in 1095. Then the threat of the Cumans was the topic of the day. The emperor launched an attack against them coming from Adrianoupolis to Skoutarion and Agathonike. The Cumans camped out near Avrilevo. Before the battle the emperor sent for the allied leaders Ouzas (a Sarmatian), Karatzes (a Scyth) [καὶ Καρατζάν τὸν Σκύθη] and a mongrel called Monastras (see *Alexiade*, II, 204.8; Алексиада, ГИБЛ, 8, с. 112).

Most researchers are inclined to assume that Argyrus Karatzes was a Pecheneg by birth (see *Gautier, Blachernes*, p. 259; *Moravcik, Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 153), although the only source of information, Anna Komnena, was uncertain about this subject (first, she called him a Sarmatian together with Ouzas, second, a Scyth, and third, she disassociated him from the Sarmatian Ouzas and asserted his Scythian birth which does not help us).

Surely the aim of our inquiry is not the birth of Argyrus Karatzes but how to square the information obtained from the molybdo bulls presented here with what is known about his person.

Our difficulties are caused not only by the scanty information but also by the uncertain dating of the events, for which Anna Komnena is the main source. This provokes some discrepancies in different studies. According to *Gautier, Blachernes*, p. 259, the sending of Argyrus Karatzes to Dyrrachion and the events in Philippoupolis all happened in 1094.

The publisher of the first seal assumed that Argyrus Karatzes had been appointed doux of Philippoupolis after the above-mentioned events. In order to answer this question, we have to study the following: the chronology of the events, in which Argyrus Karatzas took part; the positions, which he occupied, and to compare all this with the information about the other titularies of Philippoupolis.

We know neither the title nor the position of Argyrus Karatzes in 1087. Probably he was an allied chieftain. In 1092 he was already μέγας ἐταπεινάρχης, i.e. chief of the Imperial Guards. In 1092 the emperor came in Philippoupolis, probably together with his Guards. The Great heteriarches was sent to Dyrrachion undoubtedly as duke. For how long the investigation and the stay of Argyrus Karatzes in Dyrrachion continued we do not know but probably only several days. After the investigation ended favourably, John Komnenos returned to Dyrrachion and took up his position anew and, respectively, Argyrus Karatzes returned back to the emperor, but in what capacity?

From different sources we know that in March 1092 the protoproedros Bardas Xeros and in late 1094 the kouropalates Constantine Antioches (*Gautier, Blachernes*, no. 24) were great heteriarchoi (see *Grumel, Regestes*, no. 961; *Dölger, Regesten*, no. 1168; *PG*, col. 104, 1177A; 119, 761C). Therefore, until the end of 1094 Argyrus Karatzes did not regain his former position.

Who are the other known titularies of Philippoupolis? The protoproedros Gregory Kourkouas is known from an inscription from the church in the village of Batkun dated to 1090-1091 and according to Anna Komnena in 1091 George Mesopotamites was doux of Philippoupolis.

Therefore, if the inscription of Gregory Kourkouas was related to his departure from Philippoupolis, then George Mesopotamites has to be assumed as his lineal successor replaced respectively by Argyrus Karatzes. His stay in Philippoupolis could be dated to the period of 1092-1095.

The discovery of two molybdo bulls of Ἀργυρὸς Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως in the region of Pazardzik and the present village of Dobri dol confirms that his orders were received there in the discharge of his duties. Moreover, these settlements were within the limits of the Philippoupolis theme.

One-third molybdo bull of the same Argyros Karatzes as kouropalates, without any official positions, was found near Philippoupolis in the fortress near the village of Dobri Dol, see *Jordanov, Dobri dol*, no. 5. His seal probably reflects an earlier stage in his career. This is evidence that Argyros Karatzes maintained contact with persons resident in the region of Philippoupolis for an extended period during his career.

77.3 Βασίλειος μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως (XIth century)

Museum of History, Yambol, no. II 4571. Discovered on the lands of Izvorovo, region of Harmanli. Well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: *Laurent, Corpus*, V.1, no. 687 (from the museum of Antioch, no. 438); *Zacos, Seals*, II, no. 381; *Seyrig*, no. 263; *Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS*, 1, no. 68.1. the latter is imprinted with the same boulloterion as our copy.

Obv. Between two borders of dots circular inscription beginning at 12 o'clock:

+ΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔΛΩΡΑCΙΑΕΙΩ

In the centre bust of St. Michael holding a scepter ornamented with three balls (r. hand) and an orb (l. hand). Traces of: M || I.

Rev. Between two borders of dots circular inscription beginning at 12 o'clock:

+ΜΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝΠΟΛΕΩC

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βασιλείῳ μ(η)τροπολίτῃ Φιλιππουπόλεως

In the centre bust of St. John the Theologian holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: Θ|ΙΩ|Ο - Θ|Ε-ΟΛ-Γ

The seal is generally dated to the second half of the XIth century. There is evidence about a prelate of Philippoupolis with the same name at that time. It refers to the metropolitan of Philippoupolis Basil who during a session of the Synod on 15th May 1092 put a canonical question about marriages between relatives (see *Grumel, Regestes*, nos. 963 и 965).

The metropolitan of Philippoupolis Basil sent his correspondence to an anonymous addressee in the land of today's village of Izvorovo, Antioch and Constantinople. His correspondents probably were local prelates while his letters to the capital were addressed to various people and were of a different nature.

77.4 Θεόγνωστος μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως (Xth-XIth centuries)

In a private collection (Valentin Dimitrov from Haskovo). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Klokotnitsa, region of Haskovo. D. 21-24 (18-20) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. Parts of the dies are not imprinted, especially on the obverse. The molybdo bull itself is damaged and broken along the line of the channel. All this makes difficult the reading of the text.

Ed. *Димитров, В.* Моливдовул на Теогност, митрополит на Филипопол от X-XI в., намерен в землището на с Клокотница, Хасковско.- *Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 2, 1998, 90-93.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Along the border circular inscription:ΤΩ.ΩΔΟV..

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.ΘΕΟ | ΓΝΟC.. | ΜΗΤΡ.. | ..ΛΙΠ. | ..ΠΟΛ

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει)] τῷ [σ]ῷ δού[λῳ] Θεογνό[τῳ] μητρ[οπ(ολίτῃ)] [Φι]λιπ[που]πόλ(εως)

If the missing letters are properly filled in, the seal used to belong to a metropolitan of Philippoupolis who is unknown from other sources.

77.5 Κωνσταντῖνος μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως (XI century)

In a private collection (Al. Peikov from V. Turnovo). According to the former owner, it was found somewhere in northwestern Bulgaria (in the Vidin area?). D. 25-26 mm. Incomplete and partly badly preserved specimen. Unpublished.

No parallels known. According to the owner of the specimen in Plovdiv, he saw another specimen, struck in the same boulloterion, and in superb condition.

Obv. Two frontal busts: St. Peter at l. holding a cross potent on a long shaft (l. hand) and St. Paul at r. holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription in five lines:

+ΚΕΡ. | ΤΩCΩΔΛ | ΚΩΝ ΜΡΟΠ | ΛΙΤ'ΦΙΛ. | ΠΟΛΕΩ. | - ο -

+Κ(ύρι)ε βο(οή) [θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Κων(σταντῖνῳ) μ(η)τροπ(ο)λίτ(η)

Φιλιπ[που]πόλεω[ς]

Among the metropolitans of Philippoupolis in the XII century, we know of two titulars with this name. The first took up his post between 1140 and 1142/43 (see **Αποστολίδου**, Φιλιππουπόλεως, σ. 203; **Βλάχος**, Φιλιππουπόλεως, σ. 133). The second is the poet Constantine Pantechnes metropolitan of Philippoupolis between 1179 and 1193. If there is no third person earlier than these two, it is highly probable that the owner of the seal presented is identical with Constantine, attested as metropolitan of Philippoupolis in 1140. It is likely that the cathedral of Philippoupolis bears the name of the apostles Peter and Paul. In addition to their image on the seal here, support for this also comes from the text of the seal of Michael Italikos.

The find of the molybdo-bull in northwestern Bulgaria, most probably the Vidin area, could connect the correspondence of this metropolitan of Philippoupolis with the bishop of Vidin.

78. Χερσώνος

This city continued the development of the ancient Cherson. Χερσώνος was a strategic military and economic centre of the empire in this region. During the early Byzantine period until the Xth century inclusive, autonomous coinage was organized. Until the IXth century the rulers of the city were archonts. The city was turned into a theme ruled by strategoi by Emperor Theophilus in 833. The names of twenty odd titulars holding this position from the IXth until the XIth century are known mainly from sphragistic sources.

As an outpost of the empire for economic and political relations in this province, a *comerciaría* was established here known mainly from sphragistic material as well. This material is dated to the period of the IXth-Xth century.

Some indirect information about the role and significance of this city could be obtained from over 260 molybdo-bulls found there.

Bibliography: **Соколова**, *Печати Херсона*, 66-107; **Соколова**, *ВВр.*, 52, 1991, 200-213; **Sokolova**, Cherson, *SBS*, 3, 1993, 99-113; **Алексеев**, *Н.* Стратиги Херсона по данным новых памятников сфрагистики.- *МАИЕТ*, 6, 1998, 737-742.

78.1 Λέων (?) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Χερσώνος (Xth-XIth centuries)

Museum of Archaeology, Preslav, no. 22175. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 24-25 (17?) 2.5 mm. Badly preserved specimen. A crack runs through the whole imprint which violates the text and the image.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 322.

No parallels known.

Obv. Vague representation of bust of the Virgin or a saint in high relief.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.Є.N | R'A'.ΠA | .SCTPA | .I.XЄ | ..ΩN

[Λ]έ[ω]ν β'(πρωτο)[σ]πα[θ]άρ[ι]ος (καὶ) στρα[τ]ι[γ]ός] Χερσώνος

78.2 Ἰωάννης (?) κουμμερκιάριος Χερσώνος (IXth-Xth centuries)

National Museum of History, Bucharest. Found in the area of Silistra-Kalarash. D. 26-27 mm; field (?); thickness 2.5-3 mm. Probably originally good imprint but now it is badly preserved with a broken fragment and damaged surface.

Ed. **Barnea**, *Noi sigilii*, no. 6.

Parallels: as far as it could be compared with the photos which are not of high quality and are unnaturally large, a specimen similar to ours was published by **Соколова**, *Херсон*, № 17.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram (pl. I.3). In the quarters: TΩ-.. || Δ8-ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

...N | ..K8MЄP | ..APIΩXЄP | CΩNOC

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ [σῶ] δούλῳ [Ἰωάν]ν[η] κουμμερ[κ]ι[α]ρίῳ Χερσώνος

79. Χρυσοκεφάλος

This name probably applied to the monastery of Θεοτόκος ὁ τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Χρυσοκεφαλῶν situated in Trebizond, whose establishment is connected with the dynasty of the Komnenoi ruling Trebizond in the XIIIth-XIVth centuries (about it see: *Les monasteres et les eglises de Trebizonde*.- *BCH*, 19, 1985, p. 425; *La Panagia Chrysocephale de Trebizonde*.- *Byzantion*, 4, 1927-1928, 382-384, 387-388).

79.1 Μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκος τῆς Χρυσοκεφαλῶν (XIth century)

a. National Museum of History, Sofia, no. 15037. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 20-21 (17) 3 mm. A good imprint but with a fragment broken.

b. Museum of Archaeology, Sofia, no. 92. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-19 (17) 3 mm. The imprint was once good but now it is badly preserved.

c. In a private collection (Al. Peikov from Veliko Turnovo). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-19 mm. A full and well-preserved imprint.

The three specimens were printed with the same boulloterion.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription of two columns: Θ-NI-K || Λ-A-O'

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

a) OXPV | .ΩKЄΦ | AΛ ..

b) OXP | CΩKЄΦ | AΛOC

c) OXPV | CΩKЄΦ | AΛOC

Ὁ Χρυσοκεφάλος

The dating of the molybdo-bull according to their paleography and discovery in Dristra does not extend beyond the XIst century. It could be suggested that this monastery existed in the earlier period as well or the seal refers to some other monastery is still unknown.

80. Χρυσοπόλεως

This is a city that could not be precisely located because there were different settlements by the same name. In most cases it is Chrysopolis, renamed as Skoutari after the XIIth century, the present city of Kadikoy, a suburb of Istanbul on the coast of Asia Minor. Because of its strategic situation on the road from Europe to Asia, its name was often mentioned on different occasions and mostly with regard to its crossing by troops of usurpers and invaders.

Bibliography: **Janin**, *R.* La banlieue asiatique de Constantinople.- *EO*, 21, 1922, 337-351.

80.1 Ἰωάννης χαρτουλάριος, γεννηματικὸς Χρυσοπόλεως καὶ τῶν πόρος (Xth c.)

Museum of History, Silistra, no. 19. Found in the city. D. 18-18 (16) 2 mm. Incomplete imprint but a well preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Gray Birch**, *Catalogue*, no. 17589; **Панченко**, *Каталог*, № 368; **Sokolova**, Cherson, 109-111, pl. X. When I visited Chersones in 1997, I documented five more specimens found there. All they are struck with the same boulloterion.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

| ἸΩΧΑΡ | Τ8ΛΑΡ' | ΣΓЄNI | MAT'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

| .COPPO | .COPPO | .ЄOCS | TONΠO | PON |

Ἰω(άννης) χαρτουλάρ(ιος) (καὶ) γενιματ(ικὸς) [Χρ(υ)]σοπό[λ]εως (καὶ) τῶν πόρον

The latest publisher has corrected some imprecise interpretations in the reading of the first two specimens.

For the first time on this seal we find inscribed the office of γεννηματικός, which was probably related to the fisc and, more exactly, to the control of cereal production. The duties of the owner of the seal John Chartularios were to control this production in the city of Chrysopolis and its surroundings. Another study suggests that this official wrote to his addressees in Cherson and Dristra. Who were they? It is most unlikely that his correspondence was connected with his duties. Probably it was affixed to private correspondence intended for his relatives or friends who served there and possibly to his colleagues with similar obligations in this region.

In the unpublished collection of **Zacos**, III. no. 1600, a molybdo bulb is preserved bearing an office similar to the one presented here:

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Ο | ΗΘ'ΤΩCΩ | Δ'ΛΕΟΝΤ' | ΓΕΝΙΜΑ | Τ'

INDEX

The index contains names, dignities and functions inscribed on the seals included in the book:

I. PROPER NAMES

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Ἀγαλλιανός | - ἑπαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης 34.7 |
| Ἀδράλεστος | - ἐκ προσώπου Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35B.19 |
| Ἀδράλεστος | - δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ Ἀνατολῆς 7.3 |
| Ἀδριανός Κομνηνός | - μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως 26.6 |
| Ἀέτιος | - στρατηγὸς Περσθλαβίτζας 63.1 |
| Ἀλέξιος | - κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.2 |
| Ἀνδρόνικος | - Ἀῖνιος 5.1 |
| Ἀνδρόνικος | - κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας 18.6 |
| Ἀνδρόνικος | - στρατηγὸς Βερόης 18.1 |
| Ἀνδρόνικος | - τουρμάρχης Δυρραχίου (?) 25.3 |
| Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας | - στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγάλης Πραισιθάβας 63.2 |
| Ἀντρόνικος | - ἐκ προσώπου Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας 10.3 |
| Ἀρκάδιος | - στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου 23.2 |
| Ἀργυρός Καρατζᾶς | - δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.2 |
| Ἀσωτης | - στρατηγὸς Βαρνας 15.1 |
| Βαλατζέρτης | - μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω Μεσημβρίας 47.5 |
| Βαρδάνιος | - στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.2 |
| Βάρδας | - β'κουράτωρ Ἀγχιάλου 2.1 |
| Βαλαντιος | - στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.1 |
| Βασίλειος | - δομέστικος 63.3 |
| Βασίλειος ? | - κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.1 |
| Βασίλειος ? | - κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.7 |
| Βασίλειος | - μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.3 |
| Βασίλειος | - σύγκελλος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας 19.1 |
| Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης | - κατεπάνω Βαασπρακανίας 14.1 |
| Βασίλειος Ἀργυρός | - πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.10 |
| Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων | - κριτὴς τοῦ βήηλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας 24.1 |
| Βασιλιανή/ Βασιλάκης ? | - στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας 23.3 |
| Βρυένιος Βατάτζης | - στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως 26.9 |
| Γεώργιος | - ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας 19.4 |
| Γεώργιος | - κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.3 |
| Γουδέλιος ? | - στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.7 |
| Γρηγοῤῥας ? | - β'σπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.7 |
| Γρηγοῤῥας Σαυλοιωάννης | - κριτὴς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.2 |
| Γρηγόριος | - ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας 19.7 |
| Γρηγόριος | - ἐπίσκοπος Σεβεριάδος 71.1 |
| Γρηγόριος or Πανθεριος | - μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.5 |
| Δαμιανός | - ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν 64.1 |
| Δαμιανός Δοβρομιρός | - δοῦξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας 35A.14 |
| Δαυῖδ | - βασιλικὸς (?) Ῥαιδεστός 65.1 |
| Δαυῖδ | - κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.4 |
| Δαυῖδ N., | - στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης 34.2 |
| Δαυῖδ | - στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας 35C.20 |
| Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν | - κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου 58.1 |
| Διογένης | - στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.2 |
| Διονύσιος | - κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας 23.7 |
| Δοβρυνος or Δοβρυλος N., | - στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.13 |

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Δραζιμip | - άνθρωπος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.7 |
| Εὐθύμιος | - γενηκὸς λογαθεσίου ἄρκλας..... 34.5 |
| Εὐστάθιος | - μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.8 |
| Εὐστάθιος | - τοποτηρητὴς Μοσυνόπολεως 51.1 |
| Εὐστράτιος | - κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.5. |
| Ἡσαΐας | - ἐπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας 19.3 |
| Θεόγνωστος | - μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.4 |
| Θεοδωροκάνος | - πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.2 |
| Θεόδοτος | - ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτὴς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.3 |
| Θεόδοτος | - μητροπολίτης Σεβαστείας 69.1 |
| Θεόδουλος | - ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.10 |
| Θεόδωρος | - πριμικήριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας 23.4 |
| Θεόδωρος | - Praefectus Insularum 37.1 |
| Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης | - κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον 58.2 |
| Θεόκτιστος | - στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.2 |
| Θεοφάνης | - διοικιτὴς τοῦ Ῥυνδάκου καὶ Ἀνατολικῶν 66.1 |
| Θεοφάνης | - στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35B.16 |
| Θεοφύλακτος | - δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.3 |
| Θεοφύλακτος | - στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.8 |
| Θεόφυλος | - νοτάριος Μακεδονίας 46.15 |
| Θεόφυλος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης | - πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμος 67.1 |
| Ἰλλαρίων | - ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας 47.7 |
| Ἰσαάκιος | - στρατηγὸς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.5 |
| Ἰσαάκιος | - στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.9 |
| Ἰσαάκιος | - στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.9 |
| Ἰωάννης | - ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας 19.5 |
| Ἰωάννης | - γεννηματικὸς Χρυσοπόλεως 80.1 |
| Ἰωάννης | - δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως 7.1 |
| Ἰωάννης | - δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς 7.2 |
| Ἰωάννης | - ἐκ προσώπου Μακεδονίας 46.14 |
| Ἰωάννης | - ἐπίσκοπος Βελεβουσδίου 16.1 |
| Ἰωάννης? | - κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.6 |
| Ἰωάννης | - κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας 23.8 |
| Ἰωάννης (?) | - κομμερκιάριος Χερσώνος 78.2 |
| Ἰωάννης | - κριτὴς Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης 34.4 |
| Ἰωάννης | - κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Θρακησίων 36.1 |
| Ἰωάννης | - κρητὴς Σελευκείας 68.1 |
| Ἰωάννης | - νοτάριος καὶ βικάριος Θράκης 35.1 |
| Ἰωάννης | - στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης 35.3-4 |
| Ἰωάννης | - στρατηγὸς Περσκλάβας 63.3 |
| Ἰωάννης Κεγένης | - ἄρχων Πατζινακίας 59.1 |
| Ἰωάννης Μαλέας | - στρατηγὸς Περσθλάβας 63.5 |
| Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης | - στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.6 |
| Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς | - κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.22 |
| Ἰωσήφ Μανιάκης | - τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν 50.1 |
| Ἰωάννης Ν., | - κριτὴς καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ Μιτυλήνης 49.1 |
| Κατακαλῶν | - στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης 34.1 |
| Κατακαλῶν | - στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως 38.1 |
| Κατακαλῶν | - τουρμάρχης Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως 10.2 |
| Κατακαλῶν | - τουρμάρχης Θράκης 35.11 |
| Κοσμᾶς | - κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.2 |
| Κοσμᾶς | - κομμερκιάριος Κερασσοῦντος 40.1 |
| Κωνσταντῖνος | - ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.6 |

Κωνσταντῖνος
Κωνσταντῖνος
Κωνσταντῖνος
Κωνσταντῖνος
Κωνσταντῖνος
Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀνεμᾶς
Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός
Κωνσταντῖνος Πύτρος
Κωνσταντῖνος Συροπουλος
Λέοντιος
Λέων
Λέων
Λέων
Λέων
Λέων
Λέων (?)
Λέων
Λέων Μελισσινός
Λέων Μελισσηνός
Λέων Νικερίτης
Λέων Περηνός
Λέων Περινός
Λέων Πηγονίτης
Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος

Λέων Ν.,
Λύκαστος
Μάλις
Μελίας
Μιχαήλ
Μιχαήλ
Μιχαήλ
Μιχαήλ Ἰασίτης
Μιχαήλ Δρύμις
Μιχαήλ Μαύριξ
Μιχαήλ Σκληρός
Νικήτας
Νικήτας
Νικήτας Καρίκης
Νικήτας Πηγονίτης
Νικηφόρος
Νικηφόρος
Νικηφόρος Δεκανός
Νικηφόρος Ξιφίας
Νικόλαος
Νικόλαος
Νικόλαος Ζουναρᾶς
Παγκράτιος

- ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας 19.6
- κλεισουριάρχης Σωξοπόλεως 74.1
- κριτὴς τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων 57.1
- μητροπολίτης Σερρών 72.1
- στρατηγὸς Καπαδοκίας 39.1
- στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.5
- ἐπισκεπτὴς Ἀρμενικοῦ 11.1.
- στρατηγὸς Περδσλάβας 63.6
- στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.1
- κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.8
- ἐπίσκοπος Δρίστρας 23.9
- ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νικοπόλεως 54.1
- ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σεβάστις 70.1
- βασιλικὸς Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως 10.1
- μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν Κυρικῶν 43.1
- στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.5
- στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.4
- στρατηγὸς Χερσώνος 78.1
- τουρμάρχης Μεσοποταμίας 48.4
- στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.3
- δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.3
- ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος 61.1
- δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως 26.5
- τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ Ὀφικίου 56.2
- στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.7
- στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου 23.1
- Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου 38A.3
- Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35B.15
- δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως 26.9
- κριτὴςΔρουγουβιτείας 24.7
- στρατηγὸς Στρυμῶνος 73.1
- στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.8
- στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.9
- ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεσημβρίας 47.7
- κατεπάνω Μεσοποταμίας 48.2
- στρατηγὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου 28.2
- δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας 6.1
- τοποτηρητὴς τῶν ἐλαδικῶν, ἐξκουβίτων 27.1
- κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου 25.2
- ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.8
- ἀναγραφεὺς τοῦ Ὀφικίου 56.3
- ἐπίσκοπος Τριαδίτζης 76.1
- τουρμάρχης καὶ παραφύλαξ Ἀβύδος 1.1
- δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας 19.2
- στρατηγὸς Δυρραχίου 25.1
- ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου 2.2
- ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βρύσεως 20.1
- στρατηγὸς τῶν Κιβεριοτῶν 41.1
- ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσος 55.2
- στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35B.18
- ἐπίσκοπος Θεοβουλείας 32.1
- μητροπολίτης Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.4
- κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.24
- κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.4

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------------------|
| Πέτρος | - | δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.1 |
| Πύτρος | - | κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.21 |
| Πέτρος | - | στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας 23.5 |
| Πέτρος | - | στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως 38.2 |
| Ροῦσος | - | ἐκ προσώπου Μώρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως 52.1 |
| Ῥωμανὸς | - | στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.10-11 |
| Ῥωμανός | - | στρατηγὸς Παφλαγονίας 60.1 |
| Σισίνιος | - | κατεπάνω Θεοδωρουπόλεως 33.1 |
| Σισίνιος | - | στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης 35.6 |
| Σισίνιος | - | χαρτουλάριος τῆς Θράκης 35.12 |
| Σταυράκιος | - | στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35.17 |
| Στέφανος | - | ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀγχιάλου 2.3 |
| Στέφανος | - | ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως 12.4 |
| Στέφανος | - | δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.3 |
| Στέφανος | - | κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.23 |
| Στέφανος | - | μητροπολίτης Ἰωαννουπόλεως 38.4 |
| Στέφανος | - | μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως 76.5 |
| Στέφανος | - | πραίτωρ Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 46.16 |
| Στέφανος | - | στρατηγὸς τοῦ Νέος Στρυμόνος 53.1 |
| Στέφανος Σερβλίας | - | κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας 45.1 |
| Στυλιανός | - | ἐπίσκοπος Κουτζιάγρων 42.1 |
| Συμεὼν | - | ἐπίσκοπος Νίσος 55.1 |
| Συμεὼν | - | κατεπάνω Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας 3A.8 |
| Συμεὼν | - | κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου 58.3 |
| Συνέσιος | - | τοποτηρητὴς τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.6 |
| Σωτηρήριχος | - | στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.6 |
| Φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος | - | δομέστικος Ἐώας 31.1 |
| Φίλιππος | - | στρατηγὸς τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους 4.1 |
| Φιλόθεος | - | μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων 30.1 |
| Φιλόθεος Φραγκοπούλος | - | στρατηγὸς Πλίσκοβα 62.1 |
| Φωτεινός | - | ἐπίσκοπος Τραπεζοῦντος 75.1 |
| Χασάνης | - | στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.11 |
| Χριστόδουλος | - | στρατηγὸς τῆς Σάμος 67.2 |
| Χριστοφόρος | - | κουμμερκιάριος Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.1 |
| Χριστοφόρος | - | κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.3 |
| Χριστοφόρος | - | μητροπολίτης Δρίστρας 23.10 |
| Χριστοφόρος | - | πριμικήριος καὶΔρουγουβιτείας 24.9 |
| Χριστοφόρος | - | χαρτουλάριος τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Δύσεως 26.11 |
| Χριστοφόρος | - | πρόεδρος Βερόης 18.2 |

II. FAMILY NAMES

| | | |
|------------------------|---|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Θεόφυλος | - | πατρικίος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμος 67.1 |
| Ἀνεμᾶς Κωνσταντῖνος | - | ἐπισκεπτίτης Ἀρμενικοῦ 11.1 |
| Ἀποκάπης Βασίλειος | - | βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας 14.1 |
| Ἀργυρὸς Βασίλειος | - | πατρικίος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.10 |
| Βατάτζης Βρυένιος | - | στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως 26.9. |
| Βραχάμιος Φιλάρετος | - | πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ δομέστικος Ἐώας 31.1 |
| Δοβρομιρὸς Δαμιανός | - | δοῦξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας 35A.14 |
| Δεκανός Νικηφόρος | - | κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσος 55.2 |
| Δούκας Ἀνδρόνικος | - | στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγάλης Πραισθλάβας 59.2 |
| Δρύμις Μιχαήλ | - | πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῶν ἐλαδικῶν, ἐξκουβίτων 27.1 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------|
| Ζουναρᾶς Νικόλαος | - | κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.24 |
| Ἰασίτης Μιχαήλ | - | μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας 6.1 |
| Καραντηνὸς Κωνσταντῖνος | - | στρατηγὸς Περδσλάβας 63.6 |
| Καρατζᾶς Ἀργυρὸς | - | δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.2 |
| Καρίκης Νικήτας | - | πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας 19.2 |
| Κατακαλὼν Δημήτριος | - | κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου 58.1 |
| Κεγένης Ἰωάννης | - | μάγιστρος καὶ ἄρχων Πατζινακίας 59.1 |
| Κομνηνὸς Ἀδριανός | - | μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως 26.6 |
| Μαλέας Ἰωάννης | - | στρατηγὸς Περσθλάβας 63.4 |
| Μαλέσης Ἰωάννης | - | στρατηγὸς Περσθλάβας 63.5 |
| Μανιάκης Ἰωσήφ | - | τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν 50.1 |
| Μαύριξ Μιχαήλ | - | βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου 25.2 |
| Μελισσινὸς Λέων | - | στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.3 |
| | - | δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.4 |
| Μοναχὸς Βασίλειος | - | σύγκελλος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας 19.1 |
| Νικερίτης Λέων | - | ἀναγραφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος 61.1 |
| Περινὸς Λέων | - | τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ Ὀφικίου 56.2 |
| | - | μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως 26.5 |
| Πέτρος Κωνσταντῖνος | - | στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.1 |
| Πηγονίτης Θεόδωρος | - | κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον 58.2 |
| Πηγονίτης Λέων | - | στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.7 |
| Πηγονίτης Νικήτας | - | πατρικίος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δυρραχίου 25.1 |
| Ξιφίας Νικηφόρος | - | στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35B.18 |
| Ῥαδηνὸς Ἰωάννης | - | κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.22 |
| Σαρακινόπουλος Λέων | - | στρατηγὸς : Δοροστόλου 23.1 |
| | - | Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου 37A.3 |
| | - | Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35B.15 |
| | - | δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως 26.9 |
| Σαυλοιωάννης Γρηγορᾶς | - | κριτὴς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.2 |
| Σερβλίας Στέφανος | - | κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας 45.1 |
| Σκληρὸς Μιχαήλ | - | ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.8 |
| Συροπούλος Κωνσταντῖνος | - | κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.8 |
| Τζιρίθων Βασίλειος | - | κριτὴς τοῦ βήηλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας 24.1 |
| Φραγκοπούλος Φιλόθεος | - | στρατηγὸς Πλίσκοβα 62.1 |

III. DIGNITIES AND FUNCTIONS

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| ἀπο ὑπάτων | |
| Κοσμᾶς γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος Κερασοῦντος 40.1 | |
| ἀναγραφεὺς | |
| Βουλγαρίας - Βασίλειος μοναχὸς, σύγκελλος 19.1 | |
| Δρουγουβιτείας - Κωνσταντῖνος πρωτοσπαθάριος 24.6 | |
| Δρουγουβιτείας - Μιχαήλ Σκληρὸς πρωτοπρόεδρος 24.8 | |
| Δρουγουβιτείας - Θεόδουλος πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος 24.10 | |
| Νίσος - Νικηφόρος Δεκανὸς κουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ 55.2 | |
| Ὀφικίου - Νικήτας πρωτοσπαθάριος, κριτὴς ἵπποδρόμου 56.3 | |
| Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος - Λέων Νικερίτης πρωτοπρόεδρος 61.1 | |
| ἄνθρωπος τοῦ βασιλέως | |
| N., σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Μεσημβρίας 47.6 | |
| ἄνθρωπος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως | |
| Δραζιμὴρ πρωτοσπαθάριος -ὑπάτος 26.8 | |
| ἀνθύπατος | |
| Ἀσωτης πατρικίος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βαρνας 15.1 | |

Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων πατρίκιος, κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας 24.1
 Δαμιανός Δοβρομιρός δούξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας 35A.14
 Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου 58.1
 Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον 58.2
 Θεοφύλακτος βέστης, πατρίκιος καὶ δούξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.3
 Λέων Μελισσηνός μάγιστρος, δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.4
 Ρωμανός πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.11
 Στέφανος πατρίκιος δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.3
 Χασάνης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.11
 ἄρκλας
 Θεσσαλονίκης - Εὐθύμιος γενηκὸς λογαθεσίου ἄρκλας 34.5
 ἄρχων
 Πατζινακίας - Ἰωάννης Κεγένης μάγιστρος 59.1
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος
 Ἀγχιάλου - Νικηφόρος 2.2
 Ἀγχιάλου - Στέφανος 2.3
 Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως - Στέφανος 10.4
 Βουλγαρίας - Γεώργιος 19.4
 Βουλγαρίας - Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς 19.5
 Βουλγαρίας - Κωνσταντῖνος 19.6
 Βουλγαρίας - Γρηγόριος 19.7
 Βρύσεως - Νικηφόρος 20.1
 Μεσημβρίας - Ἰλλαρίων 47.7
 Μεσημβρίας - Μιχαήλ 47.8
 Νικοπόλεως - Λέων 54.1
 Σ.....ολιτων - Ν., 74.2
 ἀσηκρήτις
 Θεόδοτος κριτής Δρουγουβιτείας 24.3
 Ἰωάννης κριτής Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης 34.4
 Ἰωάννης? κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.6
 Ἰωάννης κρητὴς Σελευκείας 68.1
 Λέων Ν., κριτήςΔρουγουβιτείας 24.7
 Στέφανος κριτής Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.23
 βασιλικὸς
 Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως - Λέων 10.1
 Ῥαιδεστός - Δαυὶδ β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 65.1
 βεστάρχης
 Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης κατεπάνω Βασσπρακανίας 14.1
 Ἰωάννης κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Θρακησίων 36.1
 Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.22
 Κωνσταντῖνος κριτὴς τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων 57.1
 Μιχαήλ κατεπάνω Μεσοποταμίας 48.2
 Μιχαήλ Μαύριξ κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου 25.2
 Συμεὼν κατεπάνω Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας 3A.8
 βέστης
 Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον 58.2
 Θεοφύλακτος ἀνθύπατος καὶ δούξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.3
 Συμεὼν κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου 58.3
 βεστίτωρ
 Δαμιανός ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν 64.1
 βικάριος
 Θράκης - Ἰωάννης νοτάριος 35.1
 γεννηματικὸς
 Χρυσοπόλεως καὶ τῶν πόρος - Ἰωάννης χαρτουλάριος 80.1

διοικιτὴς
 Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας - Ἀντρόνικος 10.3
 Ῥυνδάκου καὶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν - Θεοφάνης 64.1
 δομέστικος (μέγας)
 Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως - Ἰωάννης σεβαστός 7.1
 Ἀνατολῆς - Ἰωάννης σεβαστός 7.2
 Δύσεως - Ἀδριανὸς Κομνηνὸς πρωτοσεβαστός 26.6
 δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς
 Ἀδράλεστος πατρίκιος 7.3
 δομέστικος Ἐώας
 Φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος πρωτοσέβαστος 31.1
 δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως
 Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 26.10
 δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως
 Λέων Μελισσηνός μάγιστρος, ἀνθύπατος 26.4
 Πέτρος πατρίκιος 26.1
 Στέφανος ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος 26.3
 Ν., πατρίκιος 26.2
 δομέστικος
 Βασίλειος Ν., 63.3
 δούξ
 Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Θεοδωροκάνος πατρίκιος 3.2
 Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Θεοφύλακτος ἀνθύπατος, βέστης 3.3
 Ἀντιοχείας - Μιχαήλ Ἰασίτης μάγιστρος 6.1
 Βουλγαρίας - Νικήτας Καρίκης πρωτοπρόεδρος 19.2
 Δύσεως - Λέων Περηνὸς μάγιστρος 26.5
 Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας - Δαμιανὸς Δοβρομιρὸς ἀνθύπατος 35A.14
 Νίσος - Νικηφόρος Δεκανὸς κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς 55.2
 Φιλιππουπόλις - Ἀργυρὸς Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης 77.2
 ἐκ προσώπου
 Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας - Ἀντρόνικος 10.3
 Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Ἀδράλεστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35B.19
 Μακεδονίας - Ἰωάννης β' σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος 46.14
 Μεσοποταμίας - Ν., β' σπαθάριος 48.3
 Μώρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως - Ροῦσος σπαθάριος 52.1
 ἐπαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης
 Ἀγαλλιανὸς σπαθάριος 34.7
 ἐπισκεπτίτης
 Ἀρμενιοκῶν - Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀνεμᾶς 11.1
 ἐπίσκοπος
 Ἀχριδοῦ - Θεόδωρος 13.1.
 Βελεβουσδίου - Ἰωάννης 16.1
 Βελικίας - Στέφανος 17.2.
 Βουλγαρίας - Ἡσαΐας 19.3
 Δρίστρας - Λέοντιος μοναχὸς 23.9
 Θεοβουλείας - Νικόλαος 32.1
 Κουτζιάγρων - Στυλιανὸς 42.1
 Νίσος - Συμεὼν 55.1
 Σεβεριάδος - Γρηγόριος 71.1
 Τραπεζοῦντος - Φωτεινὸς 75.1
 Τριαδίτζης - Νικήτας 76.1
 ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρείας
 Παγκράτιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος, κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.4

κανδιδάτος

Χριστοφόρος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.3

κατεπάνω

Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Μεσημβρίας - Συμεὼν βεστάρχης 3Α.1

Βασιπρακανίας - Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης βεστάρχης 14.1

Δυρραχίου - Μιχαὴλ Μαύριξ βεστάρχης 25.2

Θεοδωρουπόλεως - Σισίνιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 33.1

Μεσημβρίας - Βλαδτζερτης μάγιστρος 47.5

Μεσοποταμίας - Μιχαὴλ βεστάρχης 48.2

Παραδουνάβου - Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος 58.1

Παραδουνάβιτον - Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης ἀνθύπατος, βέστης 58.2

Παραδουνάβου - Συμεὼν βέστης 58.3

κλεισουράρχης

Μεσημβρίας - Ἀλέξιος β' σπαθαροκανδιδάτος 47.1

Μεσημβρίας - Βασίλειος β' σπαθαροκανδιδάτος 47.2

Μεσημβρίας - Γεώργιος β' σπαθάριος 47.3

Μεσημβρίας - Παγκράτιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τῆς μεγ.ἐταιρείας 47.4

Σωξοπόλεως - Κωνσταντῖνος β' σπαθάριος 74.1

κόμης

Ὀφικίου - Ν., .. 56.1

κομμέρκια

Ἀσίας (694-695) 11.1

Ἀσίας (755-756 or 770-771) 11.2

Δεβελτός (832-833) 22.1

Εὐξείνου Πόντου (783-784) 28.1

Θεσσαλονίκης (801-802) 34.6

Θράκης (808-809 or 810-811) 35.13

κουμμερκιάριος

Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Χριστοφόρος ὑπάτος 3.1

Δεβελτοῦ - Βασίλειος ? 22.7

Δεβελτοῦ - Δαυὶδ β' σπαθάριος 22.4

Δεβελτοῦ - Εὐστράτιος 22.5

Δεβελτοῦ - Ἰωάννης? ἀσηκρήτης ? 22.6

Δεβελτοῦ - Κοσμᾶς 22.2

Δεβελτοῦ - Κωνσταντῖνος Συροπουλος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος 22.8

Δεβελτοῦ - Χριστοφόρος β' κανδιδάτος 22.3

Δρίστρας - Ἀνδρόνικος β' σπαθάριος ? 23.6

Δρίστρας - Διονύσιος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος 23.7

Δρίστρας - Ἰωάννης 23.8

Κερασοῦντος - Κοσμᾶς ἀπο ὑπάτων 40.1

Λογγοβαρδίας - Στέφανος Σερβλίας β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 45.1

Χερσῶνος - Ἰωάννης (?) 78.2

κουράτωρ

Ἀγχιάλου - Βάρδας πρωτοπαπίας 2.1

Μιτυλήνης - Ἰωάννης Ν., κριτῆς 49.1

κουροπαλάτης

Νικηφόρος Δεκανός ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσος 55.2

κριτῆς

Δρουγουβιτείας Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος 24.1

Δρουγουβιτείας Γρηγοῤῥας Σαυλοϊωάννης πρωτοσπαθάριος 24.2

Δρουγουβιτείας Θεόδοτος ἀσηκρήτης 24.3

Δρουγουβιτείας - Ν., 24.4

Δρουγουβιτείας Λέων Ν., ἀσηκρήτης 24.6

Δρουγουβιτείας - Χριστοφόρος πριμικήριος 24.8

Θεσσαλονίκης - Ἰωάννης κριτῆς Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος 34.4

Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας - Νικόλαος Ζουναῤῥας 35D.24

Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας - Πέτρος πρωτοσπαθάριος 35D.21

Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας - Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς βεστάρχης 35D.22

Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας - Στέφανος ἀσηκρήτης 34D.23

Θρακησίων - Ἰωάννης βεστάρχης, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου 36.1

Μιτυλήνης - Ἰωάννης Ν., μέγας κουράτωρ 49.1

Ὀπτιμάτων - Κωνσταντῖνος βεστάρχης 57.1

Σελευκείας - Ἰωάννης ἀσηκρήτης 68.1

κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου

Γρηγοῤῥας Σαυλοϊωάννης πρωτοσπαθάριος, κριτῆς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.2

Νικήτας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς τοῦ Ὀφικίου 56.3

Πέτρος πρωτοσπαθάριος κριτῆς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.21

κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου

Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτῆς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.1

Ἰωάννης βεστάρχης κριτῆς τῶν Θρακησίων 36.1

Νικήτας κριτῆς ἵπποδρόμου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς τοῦ Ὀφικίου 56.3

Θεόδουλος πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.10

λαύρας

τοῦ κῦρ Ἀντωνίου 9.1

τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μεγάλου 29.1

μάγιστρος

Βλαδτζερτης κατεπάνω Μεσημβρίας 47.5

Ἰωάννης Κεγένης ἄρχων Πατζινακίας 59.1

Λέων Μελισσηνὸς δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.4

Λέων Περηνὸς δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως 26.5

Μιχαὴλ Ἰασίτης δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας 6.1

μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς

Λέων μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν Κυρικῶν 43.1

μητροπολίτης

Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Νικόλαος 3.4

Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Γρηγόριος or Πανθεριος 3.5

Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Εὐστάθιος 3.8

Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Ν., 3.6-7

Ἀῖνιος - Ἀνδρόνικος 5.1

Δρίστρας - Χριστοφόρος πρωτοσύγκελλος 23.10

Εὐχαΐτων - Φιλόθεως σύγκελλος 30.1

Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Στέφανος 38.4

Σεβαστείας - Θεόδοτος 69.1

Σερρών - Κωνσταντῖνος 72.1

Φιλιππουπόλεως - Βασίλειος 77.3

Φιλιππουπόλεως - Θεόγνωστος 77.4

Φιλιππουπόλεως - Στέφανος 77.5

μοναχὸς

Βασίλειος σύγκελλος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας 19.1

Ἰωάννης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας 19.5

Λέοντιος ἐπίσκοπος Δρίστρας 23.9

μονῆς

Θεοτόκος τῆς Χρυσοκεφαλίου -79.1

Θεοτόκος τὸ Δαφνίν 21.1

νοτάριος

Θράκης - Ἰωάννης βικάριος 35.1

Μακεδονίας - Θεόφυλος 46.15

ξενοδόχος

τῶν Πυλῶν - Δαμιανός β'βεστίτωρ 64.1

πατρίκιος

Ἀδράλεστος δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς 7.3

Ἀσωτης ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βαρνας 15.1

Βαρδάνιος β'πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.2

Βασίλειος Ἀργυρός στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.10

Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων ἀνθύπατος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήηλου Δρουγουβιτείας 24.1

Δαμιανός Δοβρομιρός ἀνθύπατος, δοῦξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας 35.14

Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν ἀνθύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου 58.1

Θεοδωροκάνος δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.2

Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον 58.2

Θεοφύλακτος βέστης, ἀνθύπατος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.3

Θεοφύλακτος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.8

Θεόφυλος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμος 67.1

Ἰσαάκιος στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.9

Ἰωάννης β'πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.3

Ἰωάννης β'πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.4

Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.5

Κωνσταντῖνος στρατηγὸς Καπαδοκίας 39.1

Λέων Μελισσινός στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.3

Νικήτας Πηγονίτης στρατηγὸς Δυρραχίου 25.1

Πέτρος δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.1

Ῥωμανός ἀνθύπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.10-11

Σισίνιος β'πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης 35.6

Στέφανος δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.3

Στέφανος πραιτὼρ Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 46Α.16

Σωτηρήριχος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.6

Χασάνης ἀνθύπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.11

Ν., δομέστικος τῶν θεοφυλάκτων σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.2

πατρίκιος-ὑπατος

Βρυένιος Βατάτζης στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως 26.9

praefectus insularum

Theodorus 37.1

πραιπόσιτος

Στέφανος πραιτὼρ Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως 46Α.16

πραιτὼρ

Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλεως - Στέφανος 46Α.16

πριμικήριος

Θεόδωρος στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας 23.4

Χριστοφόρος πριμικήριος καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας 24.8

Χριστοφόρος χαρτουλᾶριος τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Δύσεως 26.11

πρόεδρος

Ἀγχιάλου-Νικηφόρος 2.2

Βερόης - Χριστοφόρος 18.2

Κωνσταντίας - Ν., 44.1

Σεβάστις - Λέοντος 70.1

πρωτοκουροπαλάτης

Ἀργυρός Καρατζᾶς δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεις 77.2

πρωτοπαπίας

Βάρδας β'κουράτωρ Ἀγχιάλου 2.1

πρωτοπρόεδρος

Λέων Νικερίτης ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος 61.1

Μιχαήλ Σκληρός ἀναγρφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.8

Νικήτας Καρίκης δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας 19.2

πρωτοσέβαστος

Ἀδριανός Κομνηνὸς μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως 26.6

Φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος δομέστικος Ἐφῶς 31.1

πρωτοσπαθᾶριος

Ἀδράλεστος ἐκ προσώπου Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35Β.19

Ἀέτιος στρατηγὸς Περσθλαβίτζας 63.1

Ἀνδρόνικος στρατηγὸς Βερόης 18.1

Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγάλης Πραισθλάβας 63.2

Ἀρκάδιος στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου 23.2

Βαλάντιος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.1

Βαρδάνιος β'πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.2

Βασιλάκης ? στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας 23.3

Γουδέλιος ? στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.7

Γρηγορᾶς Σαυλοιωάννης κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου Δρουγουβιτείας 24.2

Δαυὶδ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας 35C.20

Δαυὶδ βασιλικὸς (?) Ῥαιδεστός 65.1

Δαυὶδ Ν., στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης 34.2

Διογένης στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν 8.2

Εὐστάθιος τοποτηρητὴς Μοσυνόπολεως 51.1

Θεόκτιστος στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.2

Θεοφάνης στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35Β.16

Ἰσαάκιος στρατηγὸς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.5

Ἰσαάκιος στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.9

Ἰωάννης πατρίκιος, στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.3

Ἰωάννης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.4

Ἰωάννης στρατηγὸς Περσκλάβας 63.3

Ἰωάννης Μαλέας στρατηγὸς Περσθλάβας 63.4

Κατακαλὼν στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης 34.1

Κατακαλὼν στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως 38.1

Κωνσταντῖνος στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.5

Κωνσταντῖνος Πέτρος στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως 77.1

Λέων στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.5

Λέων στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.4

Λέων (?) στρατηγὸς Χερσώνος 78.1

Λέων Πηγονίτης στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.7

Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου 23.1

Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου 38Α.3

στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35Β.15

δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως 26.10

Λύκαστος στρατηγὸς Στρυμῶνος 73.1

Μάλις στρατηγὸς Πρεσκλαβίτζας 63.8

Μελίας στρατηγὸς Πρεσθλαβίτζας 63.9

Νικηφόρος Ξιφίας στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35Β.18

Παγκράτιος β'πρωτοσπαθᾶριος, κλεισουράρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.4

Πέτρος πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.1

Πέτρος στρατηγὸς Δρίστρας 23.5

Πέτρος στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως 38.2

Ῥωμανός στρατηγὸς Παφλαγονίας 60.1

Σισίνιος κατεπάνω Θεοδωρουπόλεως 33.1

Σισίνιος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης 35.6

Σταυράκιος στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως 35Β.17

Στέφανος στρατηγὸς τοῦ Νέου Στρυμόνος 53.1

Στέφανος Σερβλίας κομμερκιᾶριος Λογγοβαρδίας 45.1

Συνέσιος τοποτηρητής τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.7
 Φίλιππος στρατηγὸς τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους 4.1
 Χριστόδουλος στρατηγὸς τῆς Σάμος 67.2
 Ν., στρατηγὸς Βελικίας 17.3
 Ν., στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης 34.3
 Ν., πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.3
 Ν., στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.12
 πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου
 Κωνσταντῖνος ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.6
 Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός στρατηγὸς Περδσλάβας 63.6
 Νικήτας κριτὴς ἵπποδρόμου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς τοῦ Ὁφικίου 56.3
 Πέτρος κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας 35D.21
 Φιλόθεος Φραγκοπούλος στρατηγὸς Πλίσκοβα 62.1
 πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος
 Δραζιμιρ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.8
 Μιχαὴλ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου 28.2
 Θεόδουλος κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας 24.10
 πρωτοσύγκελλος
 Χριστοφόρος μητροπολίτης Δρίστρας 23.10
 σεβαστός
 Ἰωάννης μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως 7.1
 Ἰωάννης μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς 7.2
 σπαθάριος
 Ἀγαλλιανὸς ἑπαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης 34.7
 Ἀνδρόνικος κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας 23.6
 Γεώργιος κλεισουργάρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.3
 Γρηγοῤῥας ? στρατηγὸς Θράκης 35.7
 Δαυὶδ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.4
 Κωνσταντῖνος κλεισουργάρχης Σωξοπόλεως 74.1
 Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀνεμᾶς ἐπισκεπτίτης Ἀρμενικοῦ 11.1
 Λέων τουρμάρχης Μεσοποταμίας 48.4
 Νικηφόρος στρατηγὸς τῶν Κιβεριωτῶν 41.1
 Ροῦσος ἐκ προσώπου Μώρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως 52.1
 Ν., στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας 46.1
 Ν., ἐκ προσώπου Μεσοποταμίας 48.3
 σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος
 Ἀλέξιος κλεισουργάρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.2
 Βασίλειος κλεισουργάρχης Μεσημβρίας 47.1
 Διονύσιος κομμερκιάριος Δρίστρας 23.7
 Ἰωάννης ἐκ προσώπου Μακεδονίας 46.14
 Ἰωάννης κριτὴς Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης 34.4
 Κατακαλὼν τουρμάρχης Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως 9.2
 Κατακαλὼν τουρμάρχης Θράκης 35.11
 Κωνσταντῖνος Συροπούλος κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ 22.8
 Λέων βασιλικὸς Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως 10.1
 Λέων τουρμάρχης Μεσοποταμίας 48.4
 Συνέσιος τοποτηρητής τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως 26.7
 σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτριγκλίνου
 Ν., ἀναγραφεὺς Μεσημβρίας ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ βασιλέως 47.6
 στρατηγὸς
 Αἰγαίου πελάγους - Φίλιππος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 4.1
 Ἀνατολικῶν - Βαλαντιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 8.1
 Ἀνατολικῶν - Διογένης πρωτοσπαθάριος 8.2
 Ἀνατολικῶν - Λέων Μελισσινός πατρίκιος 8.3

Βαρνας - Ἀσωτης ἀντύπατος, πατρίκιος 15.1
 Βελικίας - Ν., πρωτοσπαθάριος 17.1
 Βερόης - Ἀνδρόνικος πρωτοσπαθάριος 18.2
 Δοροστόλου - Ἀρκάδιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 23.2
 Δοροστόλου- Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 23.1
 Δρίστρας - Βασιλάκης ? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 23.3
 Δρίστρας - Θεόδωρος πριμικήριος 23.4
 Δρίστρας - Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 23.5
 Δρουγουβιτείας - Ἰσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 24.5
 Δυρραχίου - Νικήτας Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος 25.1
 Εὐξείνου Πόντου - Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος 28.2
 Θεσσαλονίκης - Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 34.1
 Θεσσαλονίκης - Δαυὶδ Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 34.2
 Θεσσαλονίκης - Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 34.3
 Θράκης - Βαρδάνιος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35.2
 Θράκης - Ἰωάννης πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35.3
 Θράκης - Ἰωάννης πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35.4
 Θράκης - Λέων β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35.5
 Θράκης - Σισίνιος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35.6
 Θράκης - Γρηγοῤῥας ? β' σπαθάριος 35.7
 Θράκης - Ν.,καὶ στρατηγὸς 35.8
 Θράκης - Ἰσαάκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35.9
 Θράκης - Βασίλειος Ἀργυρός πατρίκιος 35.10
 Θράκης - Χασάνης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος 35.11
 Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος 35B.15
 Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Θεοφάνης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35B.16
 Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Σταυράκιος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 35B.17
 Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Νικηφόρος Ξιφίας πρωτοσπαθάριος 35B.18
 Θράκης καὶ Δρίστρας - Δαυὶδ πρωτοσπαθάριος 35C.20
 Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Κατακαλὼν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 38.1
 Ἰωαννουπόλεως - Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 38.2
 Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου - Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος 38A.3
 Καπαδοκίας - Κωνσταντῖνος πατρίκιος 39.1
 Κιβεριωτῶν - Νικηφόρος β' σπαθάριος 41.1
 Μακεδονίας - Ν., β' σπαθάριος 46.1
 Μακεδονίας - Θεόκτιστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 46.2
 Μακεδονίας - Ν., πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 46.3
 Μακεδονίας - Λέων β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 46.4
 Μακεδονίας - Κωνσταντῖνος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 46.5
 Μακεδονίας - Σωτηρήριος πατρίκιος 46.6
 Μακεδονίας - Γουδέλιος ? β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 46.7
 Μακεδονίας - Θεοφύλακτος πατρίκιος 46.8
 Μακεδονίας - Ἰσαάκιος πατρίκιος 46.9
 Μακεδονίας - Ῥωμανὸς ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος 46.11
 Μακεδονίας - Ῥωμανὸς πατρίκιος 46.10
 Μακεδονίας - Ν., β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 46.12
 Μακεδονίας - Δοβρυνος ὁ Δοβρυλος Ν., 46.13
 Μεσοποταμίας - Ν., 48.1
 Νέος Στρυμόνος - Στέφανος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 53.1
 Παφλαγονίας - Ῥωμανὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος 60.1
 Πλίσκοβα - Φιλόθεος Φραγκοπούλος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρίλ 62.1
 Περσθλαβίτζας - Ἀέτιος πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.1
 Πραισθλάβας (μεγαλῆς) Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.2
 Περσκλάβας - Ἰωάννης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.3

Περσθλάβας - Ἰωάννης Μαλέας πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.4
 Πρεσθλαβίτζας - Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης πατρίκιος 63.5
 Περδσλάβας - Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.6
 Πρεσθλαβίτζας - Λέων Πηγονίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.7
 Πρεσκλαβίτζας - Μάλις πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.8
 Πρεσθλαβίτζας - Μελίας πρωτοσπαθάριος 63.9
 Σάμος - Θεόφυλος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης πατρίκιος 67.1
 Σάμος - Χριστόδουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 67.2
 Στρυμῶνος - Λύκαστος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 73.1
 Φιλιππουπόλεως - Κωνσταντῖνος Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 77.1
 Χερσῶνος - Λέων (?) β' πρωτοσπαθάριος 78.1
 στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως
 Βρυένιος Βατάτζης πατρίκιος-ὑπάτος 26.9
 στράτορ
 Νικήτας τουρμάρχης καὶ παραφύλαξ Ἀβύδος 1.1
 σύγκελλος
 Βασίλειος μοναχὸς καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Βουλγαρίας 19.1
 Φιλόθεος μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων 30.1
 τοποτηρητής
 Μοσυνόπολεως - Εὐστάθιος πρωτοσπαθάριος 51.1
 Ὀφικίου - Λέων Περινός 56.2
 τῶν ἐλαδικῶν ἐξκουβίτων - Μιχαὴλ Δρύμις 27.1
 τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως - Συνέσιος 26.7
 τουρμάρχης
 Ἀβύδος - Νικήτας β' στράτορ καὶ παραφύλαξ Ἀβύδος 1.1
 Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως - Κατακαλὼν σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος 10.2
 Δυρραχίου ? - Ἀνδρόνικος 25.3
 Θράκης - Κατακαλὼν σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος 35.11
 Μεσοποταμίας - Λέων β' σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος 48.4
 Μογλενῶν - Ἰωσήφ Μανιάκης 50.1
 χαρτουλάριος
 Ἰωάννης γεννηματικὸς Χρυσοπόλεως καὶ τῶν πόρος 80.1
 χαρτουλάριος
 Θράκης - Σισίνιος 35.12
 χαρτουλάριος τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Δύσεως
 Χριστοφόρος 26.11
 ὑπάτος
 Χριστοφόρος κουμμερκιάριος Ἀδριανουπόλεως 3.1

IV. INDEX OF ICONOGRAPHY

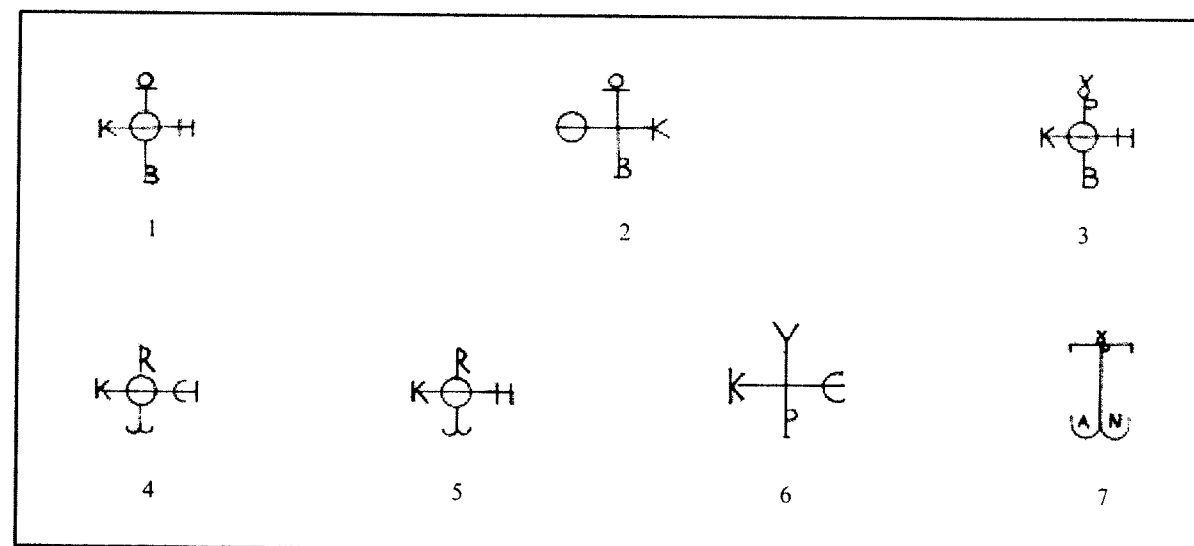
Annunciation 19.6; 19.7
 Christ (bust) 3.6; 3.7
 cross,
 patriarchal cross on three steps, 4.1; 25.4; 26.3; 46.4; 47.1-3
 patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons rising from base, 35.10; 46.9; 63.3; 63.6.
 patriarchal cross on three steps; on either side, fleuron arising from the base, 8.2; 23.5;
 24.5; 35.9; 38.2; 38.4; 39.1; 47.3-4; 52.1; 65.1; 73.1; 77.1; 77.4
 emperors,
 Constantine V, 12.2; 28.1
 Constantine VI, 28.1
 Justinian II, 12.1; 40.1
 Leo III, 12.2, 28.1
 Leo IV, 12.2, 28.1

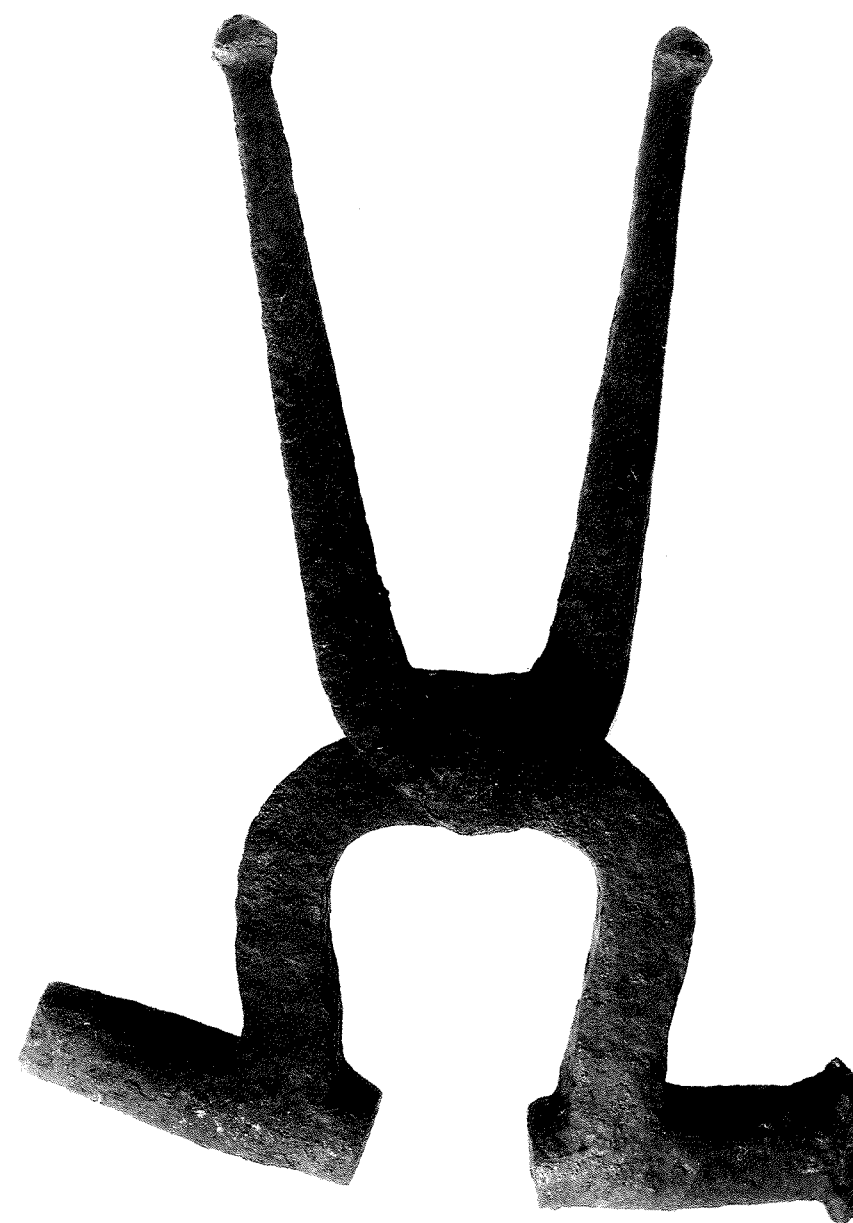
Michael, II 3.1
 Nikephoros, 35.13
 Staurakius, 35.13
 Theophilos, 3.1; 22.1.
 empress,
 Irene, 28.1; 34.6
 griffin, 34.1
 monograms, 35.1; 18.1
 monograms (cruciform invocative), 1.1; 2.1; 19.3; 20.1; 22.2-3; 34.2; 34.7; 35.2-8; 35.11; 35.12;
 41.1; 46.1-3; 46.5; 46.15; 47.7; 48.1; 48.3; 54.1; 56.1; 64.1; 73.1; 77.2
 pentagram, 38.1
 rosace, 33.1
 Saints,
 Basil (standing), 14.1
 Demetrios (bust), 6.1; 7.1; 22.7; 57.1; 58.1
 Demetrios (standing), 70.1
 Euthymios (bust), 29.1
 George (bust), 3.2; 3.3; 25.2; 36.7; 46.8; 63.5
 George (standing), 26.6; 26.8; 35.11; 45.1; 76.1
 Gregory Thamatourgos (bust), 24.2
 Gregory (bust), 71.1
 John the Baptist (bust), 26.7; 59.1
 John the Theologian, 77.3
 Michael (bust), 24.7; 40.1; 47.8; 48.4; 62.1; 68.1; 77.3
 Michael (standing), 2.2; 35B.17
 Nicholas (bust), 3.4; 8.1; 10.1; 10.4; 18.1; 23.3; 23.8; 24.7; 28.2; 32.1; 34.3; 43.12;
 50.1; 56.2; 63.4; 79.1
 Nicholas (standing), 3A.8; 58.3
 Panteleemon (bust), 53.1
 Paul (standing), 3.5; 3.6; 3.7; 3.7; 77.5
 Peter (standing), 3.5; 3.6; 3.7; 3.7; 77.5
 Prokopios (bust), 26.3; 55.1
 Prokopios (standing), 15.1
 Stephen (bust), 13.1
 Symeon Christophoros (bust), 23.10
 Theodore Thiron (bust), 30.1
 Theodore (bust), 26.1; 35C.20; 63.1-2; 63.5; 63.9; 72.1
 Theodore (standing), 31.1; 46.10-11
 Zacharias (bust), 67.1
 unknown military saint, 23.6; 23.7; 35C.20
 unknown bishop-saint, 46.13; 74.2
 unknown emperor-saint, 7.2
 Theotokos,
 bust with both hands raised before her, 5.1; 9.1; 11.2; 17.2; 51.1
 bust holding medallion of Christ before her, 24.8; 25.1; 26.5; 26.9; 35D.22; 43.14; 47.8;
 49.1; 60.1; 63.6; 66.1
 bust holding Christ before her; to l. and r., a small cross, 19.4
 bust holding Christ in l. arm, 23.9; 44.1; 69.1
 standing, holding Christ in her l. arm, 16.2; 18.2; 19.4; 24.1
 standing on a souppendion, holding a medaillon, 3.5-7; 24.10
 seated on a backless throne, holding medallion before her, 18.2; 23.10; 36.1
 seated on a high-backed throne, holding medallion before her, 19.5.

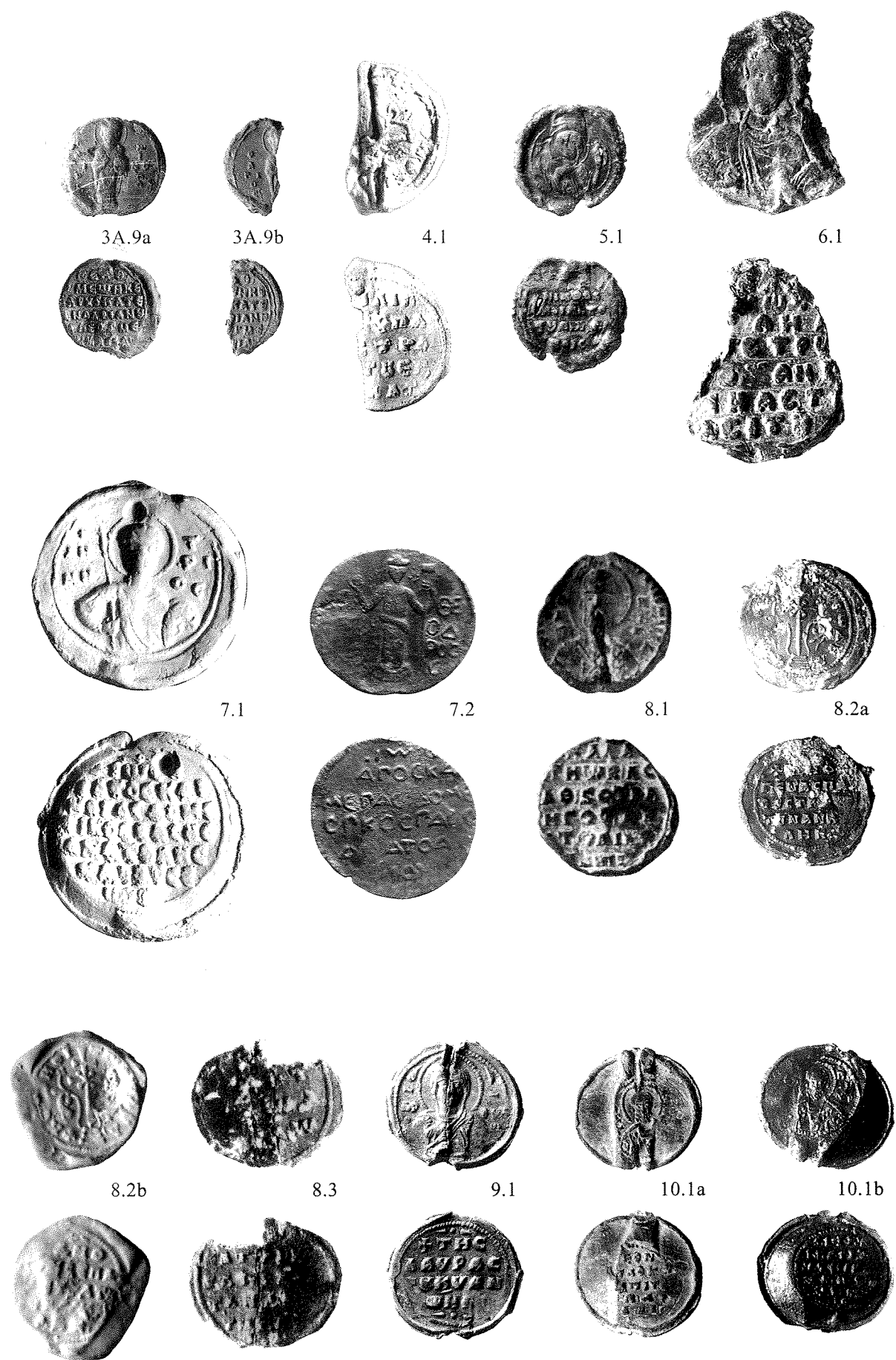
V. METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS:

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Ἀγχιάλου πρόεδρον ὦ προτόστατα σκέποις Μιχαήλ Νικηφόρον θύτην | 2.2 |
| Ἀνδρονίκω, Δέσποινα, τὸν τοῦ Ἀΐνου σκέποις | 5.1 |
| Γραφᾶς σφραγίζω τοῦ δουκὸς Βουλγαρίας πρωτοπροέδρου Νικήτα τοῦ Καρίκη | 15.2 |
| Δομέστικον Ἐφας ἀθλήτα σκέποις πρωτονσεβαστῶν Φιλάρετον Βραχάμην | 27.1 |
| Κωνσταντείας προέδρον, Παρθένε, φρουρεῖ | 41.1 |
| Σκέποις ισυ, Παρθένε, Βελεβουσδίου ποιμένα Ἰωάνην | 13.1 |
| Σφραγὶς λόγους κλαίουσα Νικολάου ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου καὶ πενιχροῦ γραφέως | 1.2 |
| Σφραγὶς τοῦ Μεγάλου Εὐθυμίου | 25.1 |
| Τὸν Τριαδίτζης Νικήταν, Μάρτυς, σκέποις | 75.1 |
| Χριστωφόρον Πάναγνε Βερόης σκέποις | 14.2 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

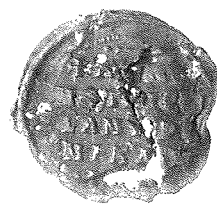




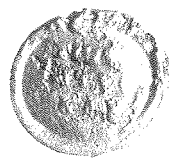




10.2



10.3a



10.3b



10.4



11.1



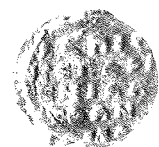
13.1



14.1a



14.1b



15.1



16.1



17.1



18.1Aa



18.1Ab



18.1Ac



18.1Ba



18.1Bb



18.2A



18.2B



19.1



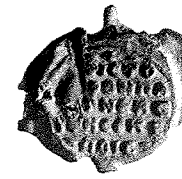
19.2



19.3



19.4Aa



19.4Ab



19.4Ac



19.4Ad



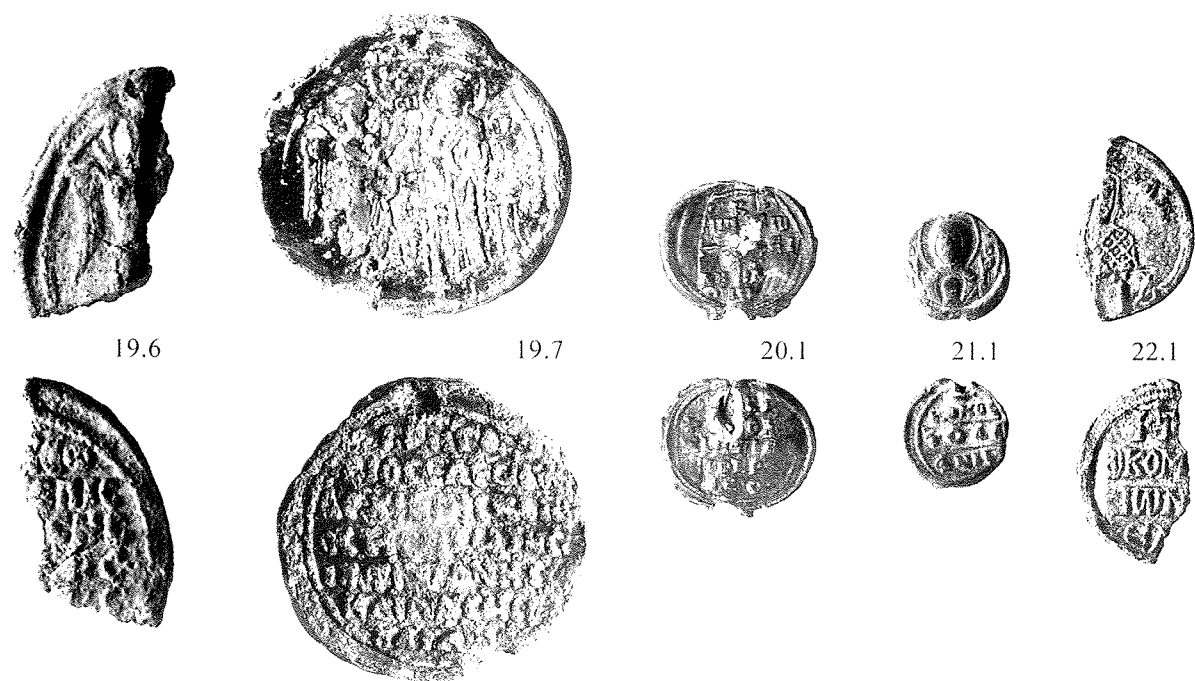


19.4Af

19.4Ag

19.4Ba

19.4Bb



19.6

19.7

20.1

21.1

22.1



22.2

22.3

22.4

22.5

22.6



22.7

22.8a

22.8b

22.8c

22.8f



22.8g

23.1a

23.1b

23.2

23.3



23.4

23.5a

23.5b

23.6

23.7



23.9a



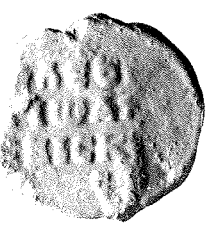
23.9b



23.1a



23.10b



23.10c



24.2



24.3



24.5a



24.5b



24.6



24.7



24.8a



24.8b



24.8c



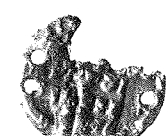
24.8d



24.8e



24.8k



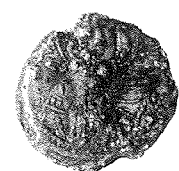
24.9



24.10a



24.10b



25.1



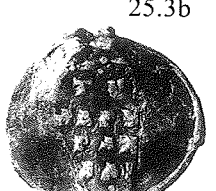
25.2



25.3a



25.3b



26.1Aa



26.1Ba



26.1Bb



26.1Bc





26.1Bd



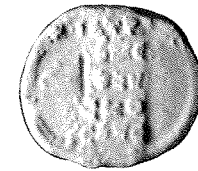
26.1Ca



26.1Cd



26.2



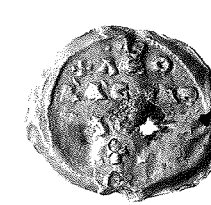
26.9a



26.9b



26.10a



26.10b



26.3a



26.3b



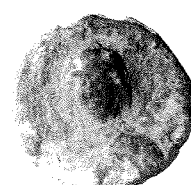
26.4Aa



26.4Ab



26.4B



26.5A



26.10c



26.10d



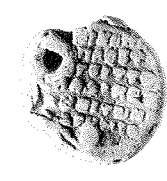
26.11



27.1



28.2



26.5B



26.6a



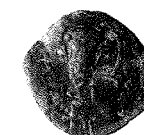
26.7



26.8



29.1



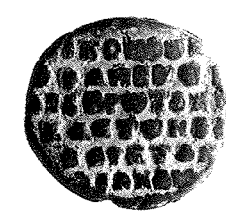
30.1



31.1



32.1a





33.1a



33.1b



33.1c



33.1d



34.1



34.2



34.4



34.5



34.6



34.7



35.1Aa



35.1Ba



35.2



35.3



35.4



35.5



35.6



35.7



35.8



35.9a



35.9b



35.9c



35.10a



35.10b



35.11





35.11a



35.12



35.13a



35.13b



35.18



35.19



35.22



35.21



35.14A



35.14B



35.15Aa



35.15Ab



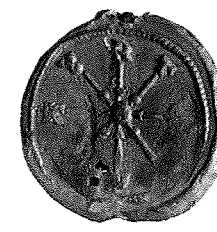
35.22



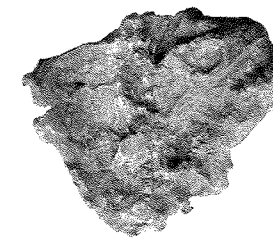
35.24



36.1



38.1Aa



35.15Ba



35.15Ca



35.16



35.17



38.1Ab



38.1Ba



38.1Bb



38.1Bc





38.2



38.3Aa



38.3Ba



38.4



39.1



40.1



43.1a



43.1b



44.1



45.1



46.1



46.3



46.4



46.5



46.6b



46.7



46.9



46.11a



46.12



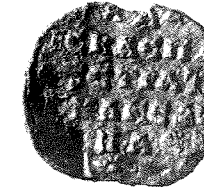
46.13



46.14



46.15



46.16



47.1



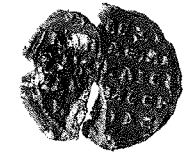
47.2



47.3



47.4





47.5

47.6

47.7a

47.7b

47.7c



47.8

48.1

48.2

48.3a

48.3b



48.4a

48.4b

49.1

50.1

51.1



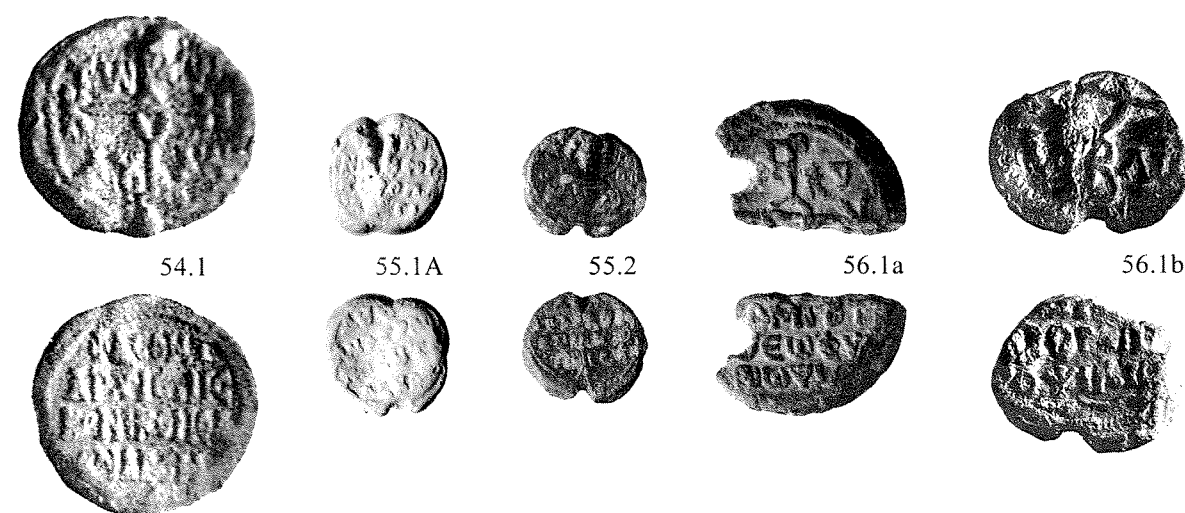
52.1

53.1a

53.1b

53.1c

53A.1



54.1

55.1A

55.2

56.1a

56.1b



56.3

57.1

58.1

58.2



58.3



59.1



60.1



61.1



63.4a



63.5



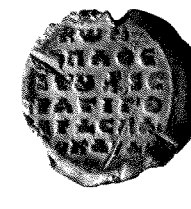
63.6a



63.6b



63.6g



62.1



63.1Aa



63.1Ab



63.1Ba



63.1Bb



63.7a



63.7b



63.7d



63.7e



63.8



63.1c



63.2d



63.3a



63.3b



63.3g



63.9



64.1a



64.1b



65.1a

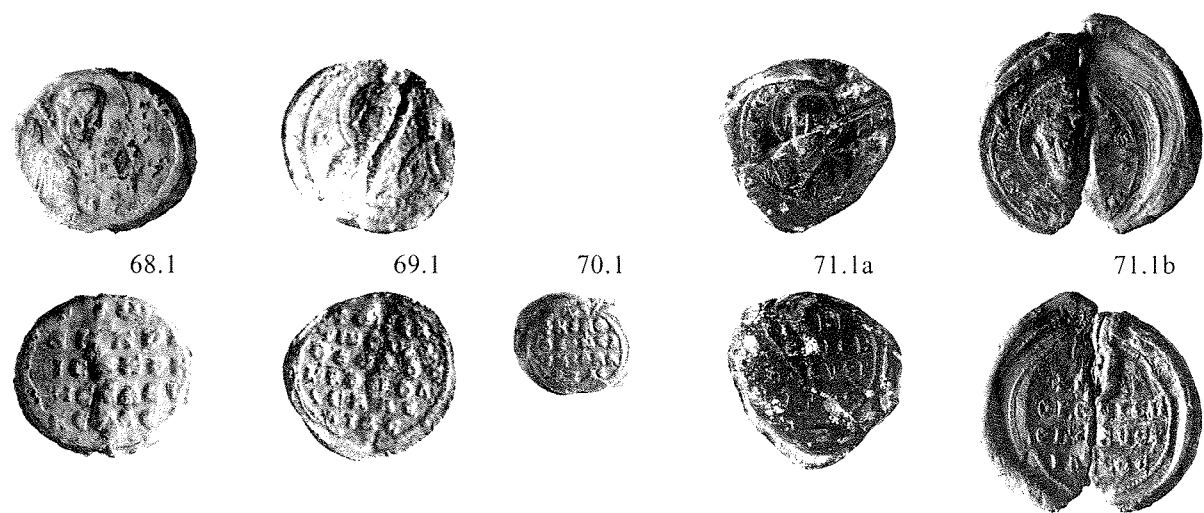


65.1b





66.1 67.1a 67.1b 64.2a 67.2b



68.1 69.1 70.1 71.1a 71.1b



71.1c 72.1 73.1 74.1 74.2



75.1 76.1 77.1 77.2A



77.2Ba 77.2Bb 77.3 77.4



77.5 78.1 79.1 80.1

Glossary

Blank : Lead roundel with a channel; receives the imprint of boulloterion's dies

Boulloterion (plural boulloteria) : The plier-shaped instrument with which the Byzantines struck the lead blank disks in order to imprint the seal.

Channel : A hollow channel that went through the lead blank disks; a cord was threaded through it before the blank was struck with the boulloterion.

Medallion : A round or oval frame containing the picture of Christ, represented on the breast of some types of the Virgin.

Sigla : The usual abbreviated form of names of a holy person such as Christ ($\overline{\text{IC}} \parallel \overline{\text{XC}}$) or the Virgin ($\overline{\text{MP}} \parallel \overline{\text{ΘV}}$).

Title : Term used here to indicate a lifelong honorific title, which the Byzantine called $\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\iota}\alpha \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha \beta\rho\alpha\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$.

CORPUS OF BYZANTINE SEALS FROM BULGARIA

Volume 1: Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names

Ivan Jordanov

Bulgarian, first edition

Book series *Coinage and Coin Circulation on the Balkans*, 7
Sigillography, 2

Agato Publishers

Translators *Adelina Lozanova, Pavel Stephanov*

Editors of the English text *William Templer, Anguelina Radeva*

Photos *Nashyan Karagyozyan*

Computer design *Radoslav Donev*

Printed in Bulgaria

ISBN 954-8761-42-4

Agato Publishers

Books in Archaeology & Numismatics

Bulgaria, Sofia 1000

38 Alabin Street

(++359 2) 980 18 12

E-mail: agato@omega.bg

www.agato.hit.bg

PERIODICALS OF AGATO PUBLISHERS

Numismatica et Sphragistica, ISSN 0861-8313

Numizmatichni izsledvaniya, ISSN 1311-3119

Edited 1996-1999

Numismatica Bulgarica

1/2002

Thracian coins of Kotys from Mesambria Region. Unknown Denomination of Bronze Coin of the Scythian Ruler Tanousas. Late Roman weight measure made of a bronze coin of Odessos. A Hoard from Sevlievo Town 2-3 c. AD.

2/2002

Unknown coinage from the Hellenistic period with the name THPOYΣ. Numismatic and archaeological results from the excavations in Aulaioteichos-Agatopolis in 2000. Did Adaeus struck coins of the type "head of Apollo left/tripod" of a small denomination? Unpublished coins of Nicopolis ad Nestum.

New!

Numismatica Balkanica et Anatolica in English, German and French

Volume 1, 2003

Contributors: Ivan Karayotov, Gyula Petrányi, Stavri Topalov, Harold Mattingly, Igor Lazarenko, Atanas Koychev, Vasil Moutafov, Luchezar Lazarov, Nina Christova, Dimitar Draganov, Melinda Torbágyi, Ioannis Touratsoglou, Ivan Jordanov, Vladimir Penchev, Konstantin Dochev

BOOKS OF AGATO PUBLISHERS IN NUMISMATICS

Coinage and Coins Circulation on the Balkans (book series)

1. Historical Review of the Coinage of Thracian Rulers (in print)

by Waclaw Dobruski; Bulgarian

2. Catalogue of the medieval Bulgarian coins 9th-15th c.

Anguel Radoushev, Gospodin Zhekov; Bulgarian

3. Mediaeval coins from Mesembria, 5th - 14th centuries AD

by Evtelpe Teoklieva-Stoycheva; English and Greek

4. Problems of the Coinage in Thrace 281-218 B.C. by Metodi Manov

5. Seuthes III, Seuthopolis und Kabile (341-252 v. Chr) nach den epigraphischen und numismatischen Angaben by Margarita Tatscheva; Bulgarian and German

Project **Corpus of the Seals from Mediaeval Bulgaria**

I. Corpus of the Seals of Mediaeval Bulgaria

(No. 1 of book series *Sigillography*, No. 6 of book series

Coinage and Coin Circulation on the Balkans)

Ivan Jordanov

Bulgarian

II. Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria,

vol. 1: Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names

(No. 2 of book series *Sigillography*, No. 7 of book series

Coinage and Coin Circulation on the Balkans)

Ivan Jordanov

English

III-IV. Corpus of Byzantine Lead Seals from Bulgaria (in print)

Hoard of Billon Trachies from the 2nd half of 13th c. AD, Found near Petrich by Vladimir Penchev; *English and Bulgarian (in print)*

Coins and Coin Hoards from Museum of History Pleven II-I c. BC by Ilya Prokopov, Theodora Kovatcheva; *English and Bulgarian (in print)*

Gold of Philip the Macedonian and Alexander the Great from Ancient Thrace by Boryana Russeva; *English and Bulgarian (in print)*